

BUSINESS: Return of the Reichmanns

BRITAIN: After Diana



Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 22, 1997

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HOW THE GAME OF ICE HOCKEY WAS INTRODUCED TO THE COUNTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Calgary International Airport. 3:00 p.m.

The saga begins

Sixteen kids, sixteen airline tickets and sixteen tiny hearts set on winning their international hockey tournament in Copenhagen. Little did I know, the stiffest competition would be Murphy's Law.

Copenhagen. 6:00 a.m.

"Our baggage is delayed!" I asked. "It's arriving tomorrow

in... South Africa," the airport clerk explained politely. "Tonight's game isn't in South Africa," I roared through clenched teeth.

Law's Sporting Goods. 1:00 p.m.

Needless to say, the shopkeeper was pleasantly surprised to see an entire hockey team being outfitted with brand new equipment. But he was dead calm compared with my little guys who rifled through the new gear like it was fireworks all around. As I watched them I thanked my lucky stars for Visa® Gold card's purchasing power. I never thought I'd have to use it, but

then again I never thought I'd need half the added benefits that come with my Visa Gold card. I guess the best defense against Murphy's Law is never say never. That said, put as I was breathing a sigh of relief, young Jimmy, or Rocket as he prefers, tugged on my coat tails.

Dr. Jakob's Office. 2:00 p.m.

It seemed that Rocket's asthma wheeler refill was strategically stored in his hockey bag which of course, was somewhere over Algiers at the time. I called up the Visa Gold hotline and they gave me a list of English speaking doctors. Rocket got his inhaler re-

filled and we headed for the rink.

Copenhagen Sports Arena. 6:00 p.m.

As the kids took to the ice and I removed the few remaining prize tags from their helmets, I celebrated our first victory—we had beaten old Murphy. And the first star of the game, la premiere étoile, was definitely my Visa Gold card. But then again, I guess that's why they say "it's the only card you need."



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BlackBerry vs. the iPhone
<http://www.cnn.com/2008/01/22/tech/blackberry.01/index.html>

and an **Computer** (GO **MAILMAN**)

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The politician a son from Alberta is now the leader of the Opposition—and one of Canada's most influential figures. Here to some extent: what to others: he has been labelled many things. And he still evokes the question: what does Freedom of the Press really stand for?



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After an intensive 11-month investigation police crack a prostitution ring that lured young Asian women to Canada with the promise of wealth—then enslaved them in the sex trade.



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As their intense grieving over the Princess of Wales began to ease, Britons took a hard look at what they want from the monarchy.



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Five years after the disastrous collapse of their real estate business, a new generation of Redmonds is rebuilding the family fortune.

From The Editor

The politics of power

Preston Manning had a confession to make last Sunday. Interviewed by Pamela Wallison Maclean's TV, he regretted once sponsoring the 60-foot flag reserved for the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in Ottawa and he said his vote to turn Stormont into a "big top ball" was a mistake. Next week, ensconced in the elegant Alexandria Avenue residence in leafy Rockcliffe, Manning steps onto centre stage in Parliament, replacing Lucien Bouchard and the Bloc Québécois. But is he also emerging into the mainstream of national politics? That is the question. Do he and his hardline followers continue in their self-appointed roles as anti-establishmentarians? Or does Reform seek to broaden its appeal in hopes of eventually forming a government with support in urban Ontario and parts east? Indeed, can it both increase its support and remain true to itself?

So far, Manning has changed less than the nation. Once dismissed as a fringe player, he is now a force with which to be reckoned. Reformers have already fundamentally altered national policies in a way no opposition party has done since the NDP played devil's advocate to the Trudeau Liberals in the 1970s. That era ushered in a series of economic interventions, from a substantial wave of legislation on foreign investment to regulations on Canadian broadcasting.

Now that same Liberal party is standing from Manning's playbook—to say nothing of Mike Harris's run to the right in Ontario. Finance Minister Paul Martin has taken the side out of Manning's wind by smacking the deficit and generating a debate about what



Manning: up the mainstream?

to do with the government's looming surplus. As well, the Liberals have adopted a series of his low "a" order moves.

The latest adoption is yet another Reform baby—the tough love approach to Quebec. Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Stephen Harper has been preaching his Plan B so effectively that Quebecers are starting to believe him. A poll last week in our sister publication, *Environnement*, revealed that a strong majority of Quebecers now believes that the province's regions have a right to remain in Canada if they oppose independence—the partition card. And the poll indicated that support for sovereignty may be subsiding.

Is Manning starting to coddle with the Prime Minister? He came out of a 75-minute meeting last week with Jean Chrétien saying that Ottawa may be moving closer to his view that recognition of Quebec's distinctiveness should not confer any new powers on the province.

It is far too early to say what all of that adds up to in the long term. The Parti Québécois government is still in power and there is always the surprise that Quebec's aspirations will be rejected by one or another of the provinces. One thing is clear: Preston Manning is now on the inside. He is a power player who will have as much impact on the future of Canada as Jean Chrétien. Or Lucien Bouchard. He just better hang onto his playbook.

Robert Lewis

stage that Manning's Reformers are determined to dominate when Parliament opens next week. Either, meanwhile, examines the private face of the public man. The pack-



Either, Wallace (right): exploring the very private face of the public man

age was edited by Senior Editor Peter Wallace.

Manning gave Côté and Wallace four interviews. "He is a match winner and a relaxed person then he often appears through the camera," Côté says. "The depiction of him as harsh or aloofness of others is untrue." Many people see the Reform leader as a dangerous force—a right-wing ideologue, religious zealot or anti-Quebec bigot—Côté notes. "But Manning believes others will eventually come to the same conclusions as he does, particularly about the notion of provincial equality as the best means to unite the country."

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Newsroom Notes:

Talking to Manning

This week's cover package on Preston Manning was reported and written by Acting Calgary Bureau Chief Dale Eiler and by Bruce Wallace, Maclean's new Ottawa editor. In his story, Wallace—who has just moved to Ottawa from the magazine's London bureau, where his last cover story was on Diana, Princess of Wales—sets the



Diana with princes Harry and William: the new tragedy

Canada's princess

It is no difficult to put into words the soft, warm Canadians, and the world, felt upon hearing of the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. I wish to thank *Maclean's* for its beautiful and honest portrayal of a woman who will always be remembered for her generosity, caring and thoughtfulness ("Diana," Cover, Sept. 5). The articles not only captured the true humanitarian spirit of Diana, they allowed us to remember the personal turmoil she endured. I met the princess in Ottawa when she visited the World Tax change Plaza and, while I was only able to chat with her for 10 seconds, I felt totally amazed at her genuine warmth, directed in particular, to the children in the crowd. I only hope the Ottawa conference honors the memory of Diana with a bon on land mines. She contributed to making this world a better place—we should all honor her memory by carrying on with the work she so deeply believed in.

John Stremme
Glenora Creek, Ont. M5E

Kudos to your design team for the "Diana" cover. It is a display of the elegance and poise and is truly a Canadian-style tribute.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
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Maclean's magazine reader's advice: Send us letters by mail for most issues and during those special times, address and phone: telephone number. Submissions may appear in Maclean's magazine.

ute is a woman who made a world of difference and has left lasting impressions.

Theresa McLean
Toronto M5E

I am amazed that your cover portrait of Diana was published. She looks so uncomfortable, she appears to be in pain. It hardly reflects the Diana that people around the world have gotten to know.

S. G. Lewis
Sudbury Ont. M5E

In its coverage of the unprecedented mourning of Diana, Princess of Wales, the Canadian media has largely ignored a

very fundamental point. It must be remembered that the love and respect that millions of Canadians felt for Diana stemmed not only from her work as a generous humanitarian and the fact that she was truly an exceptional person. As globally recognized as those qualities are, what differentiates Canada's link with Diana from most of the world is that she was also the mother of the future king of Canada. As a constitutional monarchy, we too have lost a member of our own Royal Family. Through the marriage, Canada shared with Britain a special relationship with Diana. Canadians should not be shy about heralding this relationship. Rather, we should celebrate that unique connection and remind our national respect and affection for her to her sons. That way the memory and legacy of Diana will remain with Canadians for years to come.

Aime Thomas
Toronto

If Charles ever becomes king, Canada should declare itself a republic immediately thereafter.

Maya Kishit
Lafayetteville, N.Y.

'Pseudo-analysis'

It is unfortunate that a mental health professional of the stature of Dr. Vivian Rakoff would prepare a psychological report on Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau without even meeting the man ("The Backlash of the Cover Story," 1). It is unfortunate because this will serve to perpetuate the outdated notion that people may have in approaching a mental health professional. People working help for mental health problems today will find

Media freedom

Diana and her companion were kindly housed to death, and Maclean's shares responsibility for supporting a corrupt media. I live in Vietnam, and here, as in most of Asia, there is a limit on the freedom of the media. Many foreigners choke at these limits, but I realize that with the concept of freedom comes responsibility. The lack of human rights in the Third World. Well, please tell me, what about the rights of Diana and other rebels or famous people? When former U.S. president George Bush took it during a state dinner and threw up all over the Japanese prime minister, the Japanese media turned off their cameras, but not so the good old Western media, why, we got it all in living color.

Robert K. O'Leary
Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

that they are treated with respect, courtesy and confidence. *Maclean's* actions are not in any way typical of the relationship that should exist between a professional and a client and should be ignored by anyone who may be seeking help.

Bill Martin
Executive director
Canadian Mental Health Association
Montreal, Quebec

Since we are blessed with one of the most beautiful and beautiful countries in the world, it would seem that all supervisors need to have their heads examined.

Arthur Perin
Toronto, Ont. M5E

It appears that in the nasty debate, it is all-out war. Let's forget about frivolous, such as mutual respect, genuine listening, patience and empathy. These wouldn't play very well with a media bent on getting a good story. You state that "the only hope is showing signs of healing." Well, really, yes, I guess your publishing of *Maclean's* pseudo-analysis will be self-healing in that regard, won't it?

Jan Robinson
Calgary

French perceptions

Letter writer Roy Perret is transformed. Last time it is his own business ("Hating it both ways," Sept. 5). But this shouldn't be Quebec's and "French only" media or federal services go. And bilingualism by law or by outside to federal services in all the other provinces (except for officially bilingual

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New Brunswick). There is a considerably small group of militant separatists in Quebec and an even smaller number of militant anglophone-rights complainers. One problem with general perceptions is that the federal government makes up the provincial government and the latter gets most of the publicity in the rest of the country. Bill 156 is a legitimate piece of legislation. The English are not downtrodden in Quebec.

J. C. Lysek
St-Basile, Que. B1

Parental guidance

I was impressed by Bob Levin's comments about kids, parents and movies ("When movies are like toxic waste dumps," *Guest Column*, Sept. 8). Sometimes parents have to make hard, unpopular decisions, but with the best interests of their children at heart. Politicians may be well-served, common-sense politicians, but parents can't afford to be. Parenthood comes with a higher responsibility and accountability.

Tony Baker
Victoria B1

I was glad someone had the nerve to write what, hopefully, a lot of us feel. I am not saying all movies are terrible (I have seen some of the ones he mentioned), but judgment needs to be made when selecting movies for children and it would help if Hollywood would come out with more viable options.

Peter Drent
Hawthorn B1

Cyber-correction

In your Special Report "Cyber school" (Sept. 10, you reported on my Web site, Howard's Links & Lists. The Internet address should have read: <http://www.howardslinks.com/Howard/1143/index.html>.

Howard Lewis
Whitby B1

The Road Ahead

Self-rule is not the whole answer

The newly elected head of the Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine, is determined to win more independence from the federal Indian Affairs department. And Indian Affairs Minister Jane Stewart has promised early action on self-government. But while some of the 633 bands spread across Canada's 2,376 reserves may be ready for self rule now, others are not. Self-rule cannot erase the widespread and lasting effects of usurping lands, abusing a culture and forcing children into abusive residential schools. Will government by native leaders armed with university degrees repair the economic and educational gaps between mainstream Canadians and aboriginal Canadians who live on reserves?

The lack of self-rule that can prevent abusive practices and enhance progressive economic development requires the ability to govern with sound financial management over a long term. It is not discrimination to acknowledge the severe lack of business management skills in aboriginal communities, especially in the north. This problem does not exist vacuum; whole populations of reserve-living people even farther.

There are few success stories like Sechelt, B.C., where community-driven business has created local jobs in a salmon hatchery, a sawmill and a large gravel operation. Success stories identified by a succession of governors and professionals in most reserve communities have been short-lived. Capable people need to address the following issues that render whole reserve communities incapable:

- Lack of continuity: educated aboriginals relocate, short-term local work contracts create transience, "Hatchie-end-MacCoy" type of conflicts crash plans for economic development, elections every two years for chief and councillors create short-term thinking, money community referendum are as complex as Quebec's.

- Traditional communal cultures did not prepare whole populations for budgeting, personal banking or competitive business development. The hard-nosed, quick-decision-making, efficiency-driven and competitive qualities of global business do not blend with communal thinking. Too often, the few reserve-living members who achieve some administrative training are easily responsible for multi-million-dollar programs (such as major construction) before they acquire practical operations-management experience.

- Bad decisions made by operations managers cost big money. Outdated opportunities abound.
- There is a history of uncontrolled budgets by local benefits that direct education, health care and other projects.
- Industrial self-sufficiency may be impossible because competitive pricing is restricted by freight costs, local market and inexperienced skilled labor. Few reserve communities have natural resources worthy of development, like Sechelt.

When aboriginal Canadians accept their vulnerability to financial failures, language dollars need to be directed to the roots of the problem. Addressing the inner issues, consider mainstream-based leadership experience—but do not think self rule alone can provide the answer.

Sandra Wilcock
Sudbury Ont

The Road Ahead series explores in advance possible solutions to Canada's political, social and economic problems. Unpublished submissions may not be included in regular letters or appear in an abridged bulletin board.

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Another View



Charles Gordon

Are we too tolerant of our tabloid culture?

Among the many unsettling images arising from the death of Diana is the image of us, reading five tabloids, looking at five pictures taken by men just like the men she was fleeing when her car crashed. Among the good things that may come out of the whole unhappy mess is an attempt by our society to come to grips with the nature and power of the media. While it is facile to say, as many did, that "we all killed her," because we all look at the tabloid headlines at the checkout counter, even if we don't actually buy the tabloids, it is true that our attitude towards those publications has been a lot more tolerant than it could have been.

At many levels. The week of Diana's funeral was also the week that the American shock specialist Howard Stern began broadcasting in Canada, by and on private radio stations in Toronto and Montreal, doing his own version of foo-doo and over jokes, with some anti-French remarks thrown in to mark the occasion.

Stern has an audience in the United States, probably one that overlaps substantially with the circulation of the tabloids for whom the papers are sold. There were a few infamous and cruel but government-sanctioned and some ranting about the value system of Canadian private broadcasters who give their best talk time over to American talk.

The story continues to play out. For the moment, the main conflict has been to fast-track the media the profile of what might be called tabloid culture. All at once, we are asked to take notice of the scope of the tabloids, the trashy talk shows on afternoon television, some of them moving into prime time with their sad parade of the colorfully dysfunctional and their angry finger-pointing madonnas, the trash-talkers on radio and who knows what next?

The "we-as-a-society" argument turns something to the fact that there is a crossover into the mainstream of the so-called respectable media keep the public informed, in its worst, arch-eye-brow way, about what the tabloids are up to. When necessary, the story is shaped in favor of a balancing tone, the voice adopted when our newspapers displayed the only headline attacking the Royal Family's alleged failure to govern properly.

This goes way back. When the wife of a Canadian prime minister died, a concert with a known rock 'n' roll band back in the '70s, the story was reported by Canadian media mostly in terms of what foreign media were saying. Since then, the so-called respectable media's flirtation with tabloid culture have become more overt. Not long ago, the respectable media adopted professional wrestling, a style of tabloid culture, as just too cute for words, despite its obvious resemblance to cheap theatre than to sport. In publications like *Sixty* and *Weekly Star*, polite society has its own elevated version of

the supermarket tab. In Canada, we have *Frank* magazine, which at least does not pretend to be above its tricks.

The point is that polite society is up to its neck in it. To an extent, this is nothing new. Gossip is not a new invention. That's a point made by people who are not particularly alarmed about what we have seen in the past few weeks. Gossip has always been with us, celebrities, from Lincoln to movie stars to whatever Madonna is, have always been linchpins to the people of the world.

Even if you concede the truth of this argument, the hard fact is that there is simply a lot more of it around now. Writing about and photographing celebrities is big business now in a way that it never has been before. Anyone with the inclination and a TV set can know everything about every movie before it comes out, plus the

completely romantic history, real or fabricated, of each of the main actors. Anybody with a couple of spare dollars at the supermarket checkout could learn, with a brief down of restaurant lounge over the tabloid world, every move Diana made and a lot she didn't.

We may have always had gossip, but we have not always had this. It has been creeping up gradually, until we suddenly woke up to find tabloid culture in full flower, if flower be the word for it.

It is then of significance that the creation of two cultures in our society parallels the development of two continents? By now we are aware that millions can be unemployed and thousands homeless, while others prosper as never before and build walls to us behind which they are not compelled to view the less fortunate. They live, as we now know, in " gated communities," a less effective way of saying that they have decided that walls can insulate them from responsibility for, and any

contact with, people who are not like them.

So far the people behind the walls have more influence, and even command more votes, than those outside, which explains why nothing changes. In its stretch to use a parallel to the consumers of the respectable media, let us return to the gated community of the CBC or PBS and the "quality" press, while all hell breaks loose on private television every afternoon, this wrestling matches fill the halls and the papers chase every fact that looks vaguely familiar?

Do we, in other words, have a responsibility to come out from behind our walls and take a good look? Or can we simply laugh it off as something "other people" do?

Well, we are the other people, as the great philosopher Frank Zappa once said, his own way of saying what another great soul once said, namely that no man is an island. Having agreed upon that, the next step is harder. Reputation looks like a dead end. To say that our schools (the trainers of media consumers of the future) need to do better is true, but feeble. Maybe we can make a start by looking at tabloid culture and seeing to be amused.

Opening Notes

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

Books that stirred their souls

For her first book, literary advocate Arlene Philip has tackled a project dear to her heart: getting youngsters excited about reading. Rae asked well-known Canadians to describe the books that "woke you up or stirred your soul." The result is *Everybody's Favorite Canadian: Talk About Books that Changed Their Lives*, a deluxe resource guide to some of the best in literature for children and teens (not to mention adults). Perhaps it comes as no surprise that her husband, Bob Rae, Ontario's former NDP premier, named George Orwell's *Animal Farm* as a personal favorite. Some other selections:



Walter: Nancy Drew

Spring Rachel Carson
by Sylvia Plath
Olympic gold medalist in synchronized swimming, *The Diary of Anne Frank*

► Broadcasters Peter Gzowski, *The Catcher in the Rye*, J.D. Salinger
► Novelist Jay Kogen, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*

► Guy de Maupassant, *The Little Prince*, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

► New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna, *King Arthur & His Knights of the Round Table*, Roger L. Green

► Novelist Alice Munro, *Emily of New Moon*, Lucy Maud Montgomery

► Mack Travinsky, Olympic gold medalist in swimming, *On the Beach*, Nevil Martin-Smith, *The Secret of the Nani*, Patricia Wright, *The Nani*, *My Secret*, Carolyn Kiser

► Book of Montreal chairman Matthew Hartnett, *Madness*, William Shakespeare
► Admiral Roberta Bowden, *Silent*



Moore, author of *Stupid White Men*

Flush with a movie deal

At the Toronto International Film Festival last week, one of the strongest movie deals went down in a shortsy where director Michael Moore was screening his comic documentary *The Big One: A Follow-up to the 1990 hit, *Boys and Girls*. The film chronicles Moore's book tour promoting *Downsize This* (Harvey Weinstein, co-chairman of Miramax Films, showed up halfway through—he had been busy hobnobbing with Mick Jagger at a party down the street. But as the lead credits rolled, Weinstein cornered Moore in the lobby to offer him a distribution deal worth about \$1 million—and a promise to donate half of Miramax's profits from the film to charities in Moore's adopted hometown of Flint, Mich. A real distributor followed Moore into the wilderness. "He stood at the usual bow-tie line," says Moore. "But he didn't escape happily. He just whispered, 'I'll offer you more than Harvey.' I said, 'Do you mind?' I'm trying to re-live myself!" *Moore was the bidding war**

The price of a fair trial

According to Edmonton lawyer Bruce Beresh, his client, accused killer Wayne Fisher, now has a chance for a fair trial. Last week, a Saskatchewan judge ruled that Saskatchewan Legal Aid should pay Beresh \$150 an hour—for as many as 2,000 hours of preparation. Now the hard part begins for Beresh: trying to dissuade the admissibility of the DNA testing

stirring of Carl Miller, after DNA tests exonerated David Milgaard who had served 23 years in prison for the 1969 murder. After casually looking at his long head and pay Beresh, the province then agreed to pay him only \$65 an hour for a total of 25 hours. Beresh applied to the court to seek "reasonable funding" for a case he said would take more than 2,000 hours of preparation. Now the hard part begins for Beresh: trying to dissuade the admissibility of the DNA testing

Cranston's Calvary

Publishers know that an eye-catching dust jacket can help sell a book. So when the provocative Teller Cranston, 48, former Canadian figure-skating champion, said a prolific painter, volunteer to help with the cover art on his forthcoming memoirs, *Zero Tolerance*, his editors at McClelland & Stewart readily agreed. As both a skier and an artist, Cranston has never done anything in half-measures—and his artistic vision for the jacket was no exception. Cranston, 48, divides his time between Toronto and San Diego, and lives at 250 St. North of Bloor City, and that is where he decided to do a photo shoot in the desert. In his studio, he took a cross. When the Toronto-based publisher, which had budgeted about \$1,000 for cover art, balked at sending a photographer to Mexico, Cranston found one locally. And when a San Miguel church refused to lend him its cross, he had an area below construct one. Then, knowing he couldn't be there for the entire time—covering the photo shoot and being supervised five miles above ground on the cross—he had his friend, Montreal-born cinematographer Robert Dornheim, send an art director and suggest poses. But Cranston says that unlike some celebrities, his intention was not to arouse controversy. Rather, he insists the dust jacket conveys a message: "It's about me being involved in a sport that was so bad."



The actor on his cross in Mexico, Cranston

Passages



DEBIE: Actor Susan Mendell, 59, whose movie, *Passages*, television career spanned 60 years, at her home in Maribou, Calif. Mendell, who got her start on Broadway in the 1930s, delivered small moving memorable performances in the movies, most notably as Gertrude, guardian of the dim-witted Lenore in *Of Mice and Men* (1939). In the 1960s, he played the villainous Penguin on the comic TV series *Dick Tracy*. Mendell had his biggest commercial success as the craggy old trainer of *Sylvester Stallone's* character in the 1970 *Rocky* movie and two sequels.

DEBIE: Dictator Mobutu Sese Selo, 66, who ruled Zaire for 31 years until he was ousted by rebels in May, is exile in Rabat, Morocco, after a long battle with prostate cancer. Mobutu, an army lieutenant general, seized power in a 1965 coup. Despite his fading of the national identity, which made him fabulously wealthy while impoverishing the former Belgian colony, Western powers treated Mobutu as an ally for his efforts to contain Soviet influence in Africa. But with the end of the Cold War, Mobutu became increasingly isolated.

PLEADED GUILTY: *Sandra Shook*, 42, a former assistant editor-in-chief at *Maclean's* Weekly, to 24 counts of sexual assault on 24 boys over a 10-year period, in a Toronto courtroom. Shook will be sentenced on Oct. 30.

AWARDED: To Canadian film makers *Sandra Schreier*, 42, *Ellen Harkin*, 40, and *Wesley Gibson*, 39, an Emmy Award for investigative journalism for their documentary *The Selling of Joe*, about the sex trade in India, at a ceremony in New York City. It is a second consecutive Emmy for the Toronto-based producers, who won in 1996 for their film on the Ebola virus, *The Plague Monkeys*.

INVESTED: As a Quaker in the *Passages* movie, she acts at the end of the film, *Passages*, 37, at a ceremony in Toronto, by the French ambassador to Canada, *Leif Hovind*.

A flap over the flag

In Quebec, former Canadian nationalists inevitably argue separately—and Jacques Labbe's patriotic protest for flags is no exception. In July, Labbe, a 49-year-old medical sales representative who lives in the Montreal suburb of Pointe Claire, was upset when Quebec's language watchdog, the Office de la langue française, questioned the municipal corporation's "proclamation" on road signs with "true" Labbe, a member of the Canadian unity group Quebec Committee for Canada, asked some residents to display a Canadian flag in protest. Now, with more than 450 Maple Leafs signed to Pointe Claire residents—and clearly visible from low-lying planes landing at nearby Dorval Airport—authorities and local councilor Marie Dubreuil says the signs were censors. He complained to City Hall, noting that the municipality's own zoning bylaws prohibits installing flags on top of buildings, and limits masts to 30 m. To Pointe Claire Mayor Marcelle Nadeau, that simply means you cannot put a flagpole on the peak of your roof and get a flag on it. "But in Dorval, there is no zoning law to limit the size of your flag. And the flag, Labbe has run out of flags. The waiting for 100 from [Minister of Canadian Heritage] Sheila Copps's office," Labbe said. "They promised them to me late last week." The real controversy: "Maple Corps" is thrilled that this campaign has been "hatched," and Janet Ben, the minister's spokeswoman, said "Unfortunately, we cannot supply the number of flags that he needs." No matter. At least the staked flags that are there now, says Nadeau, are staying.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Unquiet Heart*, John Updike (L)
2. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
3. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
4. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
5. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
6. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
7. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
8. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
9. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
10. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)

NONFICTION

1. *The Unquiet Heart*, John Updike (L)
2. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
3. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
4. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
5. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
6. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
7. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
8. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
9. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)
10. *Love's Labor Lost*, David Shields (C)

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PRESTON POWER

The ultimate Ottawa 'outsider' moves in

BY BRUCE WALLACE

As much as Preston Manning was happy to play "the outsider" when he first came to the nation's capital as an MP in 1985, old-fashioned Ottawa was just as pleased to pull the drapes and leave him out there on the porch. What, after all, was the political establishment to make of this yodel-singing, history-sporting politician and his band of earnest westerners who questioned the very assumptions about the way Canada was governed? Most Reformers avoided socializing with the parliamentary paraphernalia or federal bureaucrats. They were seldom seen at the right restaurants. Manning would not even mingle in the all-the-record chatter that any good minor mall relies upon. The Ottawa establishment had not been as mystified since John Diefenderfer brought his version of Prairie populism to power in 1957. "Everyone was saying, 'Golly, who are these guys?'" one retired senior bureaucrat recalls of Reform's arrival.

So Reformers were wisely isolated, like those Siskyou women football fans who once made homes through the lobby of their eastern hotels on Grey Cup weekend, an annoying diversion, which would soon enough pack up its act and go home. Instead, as the 36th Parliament prepares to open on Sept. 22, old-fashioned Ottawa rubs its eyes to find Reform has very much moved in. The 60 seats Reform won in last June's federal election were enough to make them the official opposition in a balkanized House of Commons. And while Reformers are just getting accustomed to the thrills of their new status—Manning will now live in the official Government residence he once stilled as respectability has not called their erst Establishment outsiders.

The party press aide Jan Armour, who greeted a reporter in the leader's Parliament Hill office last week by wistfully reminiscing about Reform's election campaign: "It was a pleasure to get up every morning go into the rose room in Coligny, and wonder how we were going to kick the national media's butt today. He said with a big smile: 'Purported indifference to Ottawa is worn like a badge.' Reform still has that fear of getting necked into the vortex of the Establishment," says former Reform MP Stephen Harper, who is now a lobbyist in Calgary. "We haven't found a way to preserve our distinctive character

as outsiders while at least having an exchange of ideas or social relationships with people in Ottawa."

Manning can still crack the anti-Ottawa whip in the hot Reform tradition. But there also seemed to be a subtly softer Manning on display last week. In an interview with *Maclean's*, he talked of the need for Canadians—he specifically noted Quebecers and westerners alike—to visit each other more, because "people who are more of this country can appreciate other perspectives." More concretely, there was last week's meeting between Manning and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to tentatively search for common ground on how Quebec's distinctiveness might be recognized in legal language acceptable to Reformers. To many party members, many discussions about rewording the old distinct society phrase are reminiscent of coping with the devil. "No doubt it will create some tension with our original base which is quick to drop," says another Reform MP Jason Kenney, a Calgarian who is considered one of the party's brightest new lights. "There will be those who regard these gestures as a sign that we are becoming Ottawified."

The conventional thinking in political circles is that Manning will have to drag Reform into the mainstream, to prove that the party is a palatable governing alternative to the Liberals. So the members sought comfort in the knowledge that Manning chose to bring a century-old clothing of Sir John A. Macdonald on the wall of his new Parliament Hill office—instead of, say, western rebel Louis Riel. "An appropriate symbol for a government's mission," says John Doolittle, a Progressive Conservative Reform activist who presented the Macdonald portrait to Manning two years ago. "It is trying to re-establish the dignity of the office of leader of the Opposition and to demonstrate comfort with power and the traditions of power," says Kenney. "Manning even put up a portrait of the Queen in the Shadow Cabinet room—even though I think he is a closet republican."

Manning himself acknowledges that working in Ottawa has been instructive. "If you just sit here and look at Upper Canada on that side of the river and Lower Canada on that side, and you open the window and hear both French and English spoken, you could see how—(from Ottawa's perspective)—the definition of the country is a partnership between English and French sort of makes sense," he says. "You cannot sit in



Manning: an enhanced status

downwest Victoria, British Columbia, and say, 'You are the partnership.' They'd lock you up if you say that. But you get a better understanding by being here as to why the central Canadian decision-makers think the way they do."

Just in case that kind of sympathetic talk makes hard-core Reformers reach for their red-cell headbobs, Manning admits Rick Anderson drops all over notions that Manning is adhering positions. "Of course we're shedding the not-our's well—we're not outsiders in Ottawa any more," he says. "It would be schizophrenic to try to be on the outside throwing Molotov cocktails when you're in the centre of the country." But he agrees that those who suggest the smart route is power is to take the clear old politics do not understand Reform's strategy. "One reading is that the public is looking for a real alternative," Anderson says. "They are looking for more black and white, not more grey. We think they don't like big debt and high taxes and a justice system that coddles criminals. So we think you should force others to debate in your face. And if you're right, you're going to win."

Last week, Manning's office quickly shut down suggestions that Reform was adhering its opposition to distinct society (it prefers to symbolically recognize Quebec's "unique language, culture and civil law tradition," twinned with an affirmation of the equality of citizens and provinces). "What we were afraid was, in that some way to do a distinct society is to take care of the problems," Anderson explains. "And we said, well, sure there is. But politically, we still say we don't think it's the answer." In fact, it is the Liberal government whose position seems to have evolved closer to Reform's long-standing tough-lax, inter-governmental Affairs Minister Stephen Don'ts campaign in west Quebecers that a declaration of independence would be legally in violation of the law have been borrowed from Reform's playbook. Reformers point to Don'ts broadcasts with the sense we were there first substantiated, that they exhibit in the face of other Liberals' western spending cuts.

Keeping an accountant's eye on any new government spending plan will be a large part of Reform's task in the coming Parliament. The party will also call for a tax cut now that Senners are in better shape, although Manning acknowledges that tax breaks have limited political appeal—at least for now. Reform will also push for the privatization of the Canada Pension Plan and for Ottawa to increase funding for health care if it wants to continue writing the reform how provinces can spend health dollars. But Manning's key political objective when it comes to Ottawa will be to replace, forever, the Progressive Conservatives as the national party on the Canadian right. Fifth among five parties, the Tories' survival seems to rest upon not much more than a well-spring of bitterness towards Reform and Manning himself. "Preston is clever at appearing uninvolved in a merger, but the sun is an amalgam of the Tories," says one Reform strategist. And as Manning looks for the pressure on Ottawa to old ways, appropriating even its most cherished symbols like St. John A., he clearly is in the Tory pathos, who now provides inspiration to the intransigence that has ruled in from the West. □

MANNING ON THEM MOVE

COVER

BY DALE EISLER



Fly-fishing on the Bow River, after 10 years in politics, the question remains—what does Manning stand for?

The view from Reform party headquarters in Calgary is of the Canadian Rockies, but inside the sixth-floor conference room the words are from Virginia, courtesy of Thomas Jefferson. "I can think of no safer depositary for the ultimate powers of society than in the people themselves," President Manning recites self-government within hope of discretion, the remedy is not to take self-government from them, but to inform their discretion." The Reform party leader embraces the words, penned in 1803 by the third president of the United States, as a personal creed and the foundation for a political movement that, in 10 years, has evolved from a western fringe party to the status of Canada's official Opposition. And for a fleeting moment, it is as if he has exposed his soul and, evoking one rudimentary concept of democracy, provided a glimpse into what motivates him as a politician.

If only it were that simple. The portrayal of Manning as democrat is tempered by other, less flattering, descriptions. Here to some, within or others, he has been called a populist, a visionary, a right-wing ideologue, a pragmatist, a religious zealot, a demagogue, an anti-Quebec bigot, a power-seeking authoritarian and a defender of Canada. Some celebrate him as a leader with great capacity for all people, others denounce him as a voice for intolerance. But enough voters have embraced Manning to give his party 30 seats in the new House of Commons, compared with 55 before, and send him to Stornoway, the official residence of the leader of the Opposition. And one thing is undeniable—the politician's son with the raspy voice has become one of the country's most influential politicians, with a new heightened platform from which to spread his gospel.

So far, the message has been unequivocal. Manning has called for nothing less than a revolution in traditional federal policy, arguing for the retool of politicians, more free voters and an elected Senate with equal representation from the provinces. And at the core of his agenda is the drive to reconfigure Canada from a union of two founding nations—French and English—into a federation of 10 equal provinces. As Opposition leader—and facing the need to expand his party beyond its western power base—will Manning become more moderate? Liberal leaders are certainly counting on that possibility. "He may want to change politics, but to change politics he has to get elected beyond the West," says longtime Liberal antagonist Jerry Hausman, senior policy adviser to Liberal House Leader Don Blaker. "That means he must speak more on issues his region does not represent." And that has left Reform facing a "worrisome knot," according to Peter Daniels, Prime Minister Jean Chretien's director of communications. "They must try to expand their support in other parts of Canada, while not losing their western base," Daniels says. "The risk is if they try to appeal to others, they alienate those who support them. If they don't, they run the risk of remaining a western party that slowly dwindles."

Manning insists that his voice will continue to be heard, loud and clear—and that for Jean Chretien changing him, Reform is already changing Ottawa. In some respects, he has a point. After the 1993 election, Reform helped to force the deficit onto the federal agenda, now, the emphasis is on national unity. Manning has long argued that Quebecers must be made aware of the potentially dire consequences of separatism—an approach that some observers say is mirrored in the federal Liberals' more hardline stance on Quebec, known as Plan B. And last week, after a 75-minute private audience with Chretien, Manning emerged to tell reporters that the Prime Minister appeared to be coming around to Reform's constitution—expressed in a speech by Manning 20 months ago—that any recognition of Quebec as a distinct society must not confer special powers on the province, and must protect Quebec's linguistic minorities while reaffirming Canadian unity. "I do think they're trying to do something to the distinct society question along the lines that we've suggested," Manning said. And he claimed, "There is some movement in the government's position."

Who is doing the moving, though, remains an open question. To some

The politician's son has become one of Canada's most influential figures

what has been debated in other countries," says Manning. After years of debating the national unity issue, many Canadians may find that opinion dimensions—and not serving. Others perceive more common understandings in Manning's historical analysis. Michael Friesen, a professor at American University at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., accuses Manning of having a "superficial understanding" of the pre-Civil War period and its consequences. "The Lincoln-Douglas debates and the rise of the Republican party heightened tensions and contradictions in the United States," he says, "and led to civil war because they couldn't solve the problems of the nation." George Melnyk, a former historian and lecturer at the University of Calgary, wonders if Manning sees himself as a Canadian equivalent of Lincoln. "Personal mythologies are not light matters," says Melnyk, who has known the Reform leader since the 1970s. "If Preston Manning truly believes that he may one day have to play the role of Abraham Lincoln as



the preserver of the unity and integrity of Canada, then the scenario of civil wars isn't far-fetched."

Manning dismisses the use of force should Quebec attempt to secede, although he acknowledges an independent Quebec could be partitioned. But the perception that such a hostile approach could plunge the country into greater turmoil worries apostate Reformers across parts of Canada. So does the notion that the party has become a repository for the politically disillusioned—often people motivated by single issues such as gas control legislation, the wheat board monopoly, crime control, lower taxes, capital punishment and moral conservatism.

Manning's task has been to synthesize harness these disparate voices into a coherent political movement first tentative beyond the West. The task also lies in a re-guard action against some members of his own party who have been viciously labelled in hostile media and worse. During the last election, Reform actively courted visible-minority candidates, and the party's new 50-member caucus features five minorities. Now an Opposition leader, Manning believes he has the stage to overcome the extremist label and become the single dominant voice for conservatism in Canada. "One of these or three or four—for example, that Reform is racist—that are our main expectations going to say when they get to our ears and see that it is more racially diverse than the caucus of the Bloc Québécois, NDP and Conservatives can-

CAN THE RIGHT UNITE?

It seems to make political sense—two right-wing parties, each espousing less government, lower taxes and balanced budgets, joining forces to challenge the Liberal political hegemony in Canada. At least that is the thinking of some conservatives, especially in Ontario, who are frustrated by the Liberals' continuing stronghold in power. After watching that party sweep the province in two consecutive federal elections, largely because Reform and the Tories split the right-wing vote, they have resorted to battle politics. "Why fight

and only one in Ontario—has far less persistent speculation that it will resign. But while that would remove one of the stumbling blocks to a Reform-Tory merger, other sources of friction remain.

The two parties differ on arguably the most fundamental of all issues—Quebec's place in the federation. Manning's harder line on Quebec is unacceptable to many Tories in Central Canada. And Reform's wider appeal, now, to the leading edge of anger against Ontario's Quebec's political and economic power, does not fit easily with conservatism in Central Canada, where social and economic issues are clearly uncomfortable with Reform's more extremist image.

Even those who advocate a Reform-Tory coalition in Ontario acknowledge that such a merger may not be feasible. But the stakes are high. Ontario has 123 of the 301 seats in Parliament, 301 of them held by the Liberals. And O'Leary Keene, for one, defeated as the federal Tory candidate in Scarborough East in the past two federal elections, insists that "more than 90 per cent of Reform and Tory supporters are interchangeable"—and that an informal strategic alliance of conservatives in enough Ontario ridings could deny the Liberals power.

Some form of cooperation would certainly be in Reform's interests. Not only has the party failed to make substantial inroads in Ontario, but its support actually declined in the June election in spite of its aggressive campaign (Reform's total vote in Ontario fell to 885,825 in 1997 from 940,051 in 1994, and fell to its only single-digit percentage in 1997).

But for all its apparent loss, the notion of Reform and the Tories merging—whether nationally or only in Ontario—is problematic at best. Even with their ideological similarities, the two parties have much keeping them apart—beginning with their leaders. Conservative leader Jean Charest has categorically ruled out any union, and hopes for a rapprochement suffered a setback during the spring federal election campaign when Reform was able suggesting that Charest has been distracted for too long by politicians from Quebec. Charest reacted by accusing Reform leader Preston Manning of being a "liar." The Tories, partly shrewd—and two seats in the last Parliament, Charest forecast a major breakthrough but won a mere 21 ridings,

Manning says. "We have big announcements to knock those six convictions out of the heads of people."

But attempts at protecting a more mainstream image can backfire. During the campaign, Manning suggested he would run Stonewall, the official Opposition leader's residence, into a "bango bar." After the June elections, he decided to move into the 34-room mansion. Abandoning Stonewall, he now says, would be seen in Ontario as "selling out" the position of Opposition leader (see Liberal leader says Manning has sold out). But he did not seem to establish his identity as a national leader. But by moving into the official residence, which underwent \$88,000 in renovations prior to his arrival, Manning runs the risk of being seen as part of the same Ottawa establishment that Reform has condemned—and alienating western voters who have helped turn the party into an organization to be reckoned with.

Reform has long been a powerful current within western politics. That sense came to a head in 1995 (O'Leary) Bill Elliott, who weekly *Back to the 50th* made broadcasts from the platform to launch the Social Credit's blend of evangelical Christianity and political conservatism during the 1970s. On the other side of the political spectrum were left-wing proponents of the social pact, such as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation's Fleming Douglas, a Budget Minister who became Saskatchewan premier in 1964 and eventually ousted NDP leader Manning who professes strong religious beliefs—and how they affect his approach to public policy concerns those who believe matters of state and religion must be kept separate in a pluralistic society. But long ago Vancouver mayor Murray Dobbin, who wrote a book on the rise of Reform and for three years has been publishing a regular newsletter named *Reform Watch*, Manning's religious and political views cannot be separated. "You have to start with religion—everything about Preston Manning flows from his religious beliefs," he argues. But Manning openly acknowledges his religious and political views are intertwined, and believes matters of faith should be part of political debate. "In Canada, we keep saying there are private things," he says. "The public would be better served if this question were asked of every political leader rather than just pretending deeply held values are irrelevant to the public debate." Manning, as the head of government, may be tempted to ignore his religious and moral beliefs on issues. Absolutely not, he insists, and to do so would in fact be unethical. "The conception of God advanced by historic Christianity is that God did not create people into believing him," Manning says. "I think this is an inherent part of genuine Christian faith, to respect people's freedom to choose." Abortion is a case in point. Manning is firmly against the procedure, but he would not put the question—and others, such as capital punishment—to a national referendum. Besides, he says with an evangelist's fervor, "there has to be some kind of objective truth in these areas." And Manning, it seems, believes that if Canadians simply debate matters such as this, they will reach that objective truth—meaning his religious-based truth.

But the emphasis is still on choice. "Manning is not going to impose his fundamental religious beliefs," says University of Calgary political scientist Tom Flanagan, a former Reform party adviser who has been critical of some of Reform's policies. Believing Manning lacks consistent conservative principles. He believes you respect the majority. That notion has clearly been the source of Reform's strength—since its founding convention in Winnipeg in 1957. Reform has presented itself as a party that reflects the popular will of its members.

But Reform's populist label is itself a matter of great controversy. Some argue that the party has not fully in the clutches of Manning and his acolytes. Others say Reform's populism has resulted in a party that lacks a consistent set of principles. "Ask yourself what Preston Manning really believes in," says one former political associate. "I don't think that beyond a few socially conservative views, you can answer that." And while Manning has enjoyed political success, his brand of politics also produces those who feel alienated and disappointed. Anderson that in a 20-year-old Reform party, the party is a collection of people who have gone from members to disillusionment. That was among the first 300 party members in Ontario and a member of Reform's Ontario expansion committee. But eventually he came to see the party as a vehicle completely controlled by Manning, his closest advisers and senior party staff in Calgary. "It's a cadre of people who are complete Manning loyalists," says Platt, who resigned last September. "It was a bitter realization knowing that Manning is nowhere near being grassroots."

According to Platt and other disillusioned members, the party hierarchy will not tolerate dissent—or even independent action. In the years leading up to the last election, many Reformers in Toronto's Scarborough East riding—a former stronghold of Reform membership in Ontario—chafed under the steady stream of endorsements Calgary. Some quickly became targets for speaking out. "What happens is you're told 'choices have been leveled against you,'" Platt says. "There is never any evidence presented, but it's their way of forcing you out if they think you're too independent."

Others, such as Richard Chambers of Selkirk, voice much the same criticism. The former Reformers' committee president says that rather than being open to grassroots opinions, the party forbids dissent. Anyone who dares question the organization becomes the subject of a smear campaign. Chambers admits to "a particular leadership of Preston Manning and the suits who support him," claiming that the leader relies on a network of mostly evangelical Christians who can cut his orders to ministers straight out of the party. "There's where worship occurred here, but in actual fact Manning is the most ruthless politician I've seen or heard of," Chambers says.

Chambers cut after what he says was a "whisper campaign" mounted by party officials. He claims they accused him of having been unrepentant, an accusation he categorically denies. But Barry Meyers, Reform's chief operating officer, says Chambers' charges are unfounded. He would hold off nominations before the last election as that as many candidates as possible would appear. "In the final round, all that was said was 'Preston and the party,'" Meyers says. "As far as I'm concerned, he could not work for any party." Meanwhile, Reform senior strategist Rick Anderson, a former federal Liberal activist, says the allegation that Reform is a political vehicle under Manning's tight control is nothing but the spin of a few "nuts." "They were people that got their wires, they took out," Anderson says. "This party is far more grassroots-controlled than any other in Canada."

The image of a western populist who brings an evangelical fervor to his political quest has earned Manning much. It has earned him from the budgets of federal politics to the office of Opposition leader. The question now is whether he can convert neo-westerners in his message and unite Canadians with a vision of provincial equality. So far, the goal of equipping Reform's power base has eluded him, but his new position may give him the platform he needs. Ten years ago, Manning was seen as an arriviste—and that went on to change the political landscape. To demonstrate this in character what now? says Manning, "we demonstrate this and have already proven dangerous for his rivals. (C)



In his Ottawa office, a political revolution

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Sex, lies and money

Even by the notoriously hectic standards of the Metropolitan Toronto police department's 55 Division, the night of Sept. 30 turned up quite a scene. Dozens of young Asian women accused of prostitution, several wearing the halterneck clothing of the trade—escortists, likely fast-food passers—were packed into the division's headquarters. Some cried; many could not speak English. Under the glare of white fluorescent lighting, officers began the arduous task of cataloguing each woman's story. Police say the women, arrested after almost two dozen simultaneous raids in the Toronto area, are mostly from Thailand and Malaysia. There, they had been approached by gangsters, offered illegal passage to Canada and promised a lucrative future. Instead, they were ensnared in the sex trade, part of an insidious worldwide network. "I don't think a lot of them realized just how many women were actually involved, one effort said. "It seemed like a lot of them had the impression that, 'Jeez, we thought there were only three or four of us.'"

As it turns out, there are many more. Police with the Canadian Forces Special Enforcement Unit, comprised of investigators from the RCMP, Ontario Provincial Police, Toronto police and two regional forces, say their 11-month investigation began after a tip from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service revealed that Asian women were being sold for the sex trade in Toronto and Vancouver, as well as several U.S. cities. "Couriers would go to small communities, poor families, people scared who have an attractive young lady," said Sgt. Ben Seavey, head of the CFSEU. "They'd convince them to make their name and fortune [in the West]. Some of them might know what they're getting into, others don't."

Typically the women, 16 to 30 years old, were smuggled into Vancouver with false passports and visitors' visas. The price of illegal passage was steep, as high as \$25,000, which the women had to repay. Trafficked, culturally isolated and threatened with being handed over to immigration authorities for deportation, they were forced into prostitu-

tion. "Before that girl did anything, she had to pay off her debt," said CFSEU Sgt. Earl Horlick. "She had to serve 350 clients, at anywhere from \$130 to \$230 per customer." When the debt was paid, some stayed on and worked on a commission basis, some died for home, others were sold in spite of having fulfilled their obligations. "They were forever being exchanged between bawdy houses in

An 11-month investigation uncovers an Asian sex-slave ring



After the raids in Toronto, part of a worldwide smuggling network.

Canada and the United States," Seavey and Police estimate the prostitution ring in Canada netted as much as \$3 million a year.

Police made more than 40 arrests in the Toronto suburbs of Markham and Scarborough, raiding three bawdy houses and several apartments. More than 750 prostitution and immigration-related charges were leveled against 22 suspects. They include Wu Ping (Patty) Chu, 33, who faces 135 charges and whom police accuse of being one of two

ring leaders. Chu, who arrived in Vancouver from Hong Kong in 1987, is well known to immigration authorities. She tried several times to obtain permission to stay in Canada, without success. In 1994, immigration officials ordered her deported. Three years later, that may finally take place. "When these [criminal] matters are completed, she'll be removed from Canada," said immigration spokesman Kevin Sack.

Also facing 135 charges is Chu's alleged accomplice, Wang Han (Guby) Tam, 25. U.S. authorities, meanwhile, made several more arrests in San Jose, Calif., where another faction of the ring is said to have operated. Police are still looking for a number of suspects in Vancouver and Los Angeles. And authorities were quick to dismiss vagrancies that Canada is particularly susceptible to the trade in illegal aliens. Says Sack: "This is more than just a Canadian problem."

It certainly is—and catching it is difficult. The problem stems in part from the rapid globalization of the world economy over the past decade. Barbara Ng, a Toronto sociologist, notes that growing Southeast Asian markets attract rural poor to urban centres in search of wealth. When no work is found, desperation can set in. Ng is not surprised that exploitation of women sometimes results. "Let's say someone approaches you and says, 'I know where you can make a lot of money.' " Ng says. "Wouldn't you want to go?"

Many of the investigators, a professor with the University of Victoria's department of women's studies, in the Canadian coordinator for the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. She notes that the United Nations estimates that 50 million women have been victims of trafficking over the past decade, most of them for sex. "Those coming out from Australia 17 or 18," Seavey says. "Some are younger. Increasingly, the age is falling." She adds that it is all "highly profitable. The profits coming from trafficking in women now exceed those from underground arms deals," says Seavey, though, says the results of the Canadian investigation came as a surprise. "We all know it exists—the massage parlors in Bangkok, the sex parks, but in Canada? You wouldn't expect it." Western wealth, though, is a powerful lure. And as last week's raids showed, the illegal trade in women is thriving—even in Canada.

DANTELO HOFMANN/SHIKA with CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

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Keeping the peace

A fractious House searches for its next referee

Few politicians can work a room like Gilbert Ringué. So it may be a little hard to accept his claim that he is not even bothering to campaign for re-election to the post of Speaker of the House of Commons, which he held during the Clinton government's first term in office. "The Errol Flynn of the speakership suits the person," and so said to the Ontario MP who is not conducting media interviews in the campaign to the vote. That serene attitude does have a historical precedent. Four years ago, when Parent was a little-known backbencher, he did not follow the other aspirants by promoting his candidacy at party caucus meetings. The surprise outcome seemed to match fate in this, a sixth ballot victory over the favorite, Ottawa MP Jean-Robert Gauthier, who later received a Senate seat. But since then, Parent's serene attitude has inspired mixed results. And on Sept. 22, when the new Parliament convenes, comes the true test: Will Parent be voted back to the Speaker's chair?

The next may be clear. Liberal Roger Gallaway is running against Grit Peter Mills. Even former Liberal Minister Jean Charest is running independent of Justin

Trudeau, and work under the shadow of him entering the fray when "2006." Being the incumbent has obvious advantages for Parent. But he can probably forget about being propelled to victory by Reform party MPs, as he was in 1984, as many seem disappointed with his willingness to push for parliamentary reform. For that matter, some members of his own party seem to be waverers in their support. Parents, even Prime Minister Jean Charest has expressed concerns that Parent may not be able to control the upcoming Parliament, with its four opposition parties and a government with a razor-thin lead on power. "The current circles there is a view that change has to be made," comments Gallaway, 49, MP for the Ontario riding of Simcoe North.

Sound like the process seems a little undisciplined. The list of previous Speakers includes some illustrious names: Lucien Lamoureux, considered the best Speaker Parliament ever

had, went on to become Canada's ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg in 1974, and later Portugal. Former governors general Roland Michener and Jeanne Sauvé both served as Speakers. But new speakers, adopted in 1985 and intended to make the selection process more democratic, has, in the eyes of some critics, turned it into a consultation game, contesting among those who failed to make it into the cabinet. Before 1985, the Prime Minister nominated a Speaker, then the leader of the Opposition seconded the motion, that

perk and power. "The Speaker is there as the guardian of the rights and privileges of the members—to make the members do the job that the electorate elected them to do," stresses John Fraser, who became Canada's first elected Speaker in 1896, serving until 1960 when he left politics to become Canada's special ambassador to the environment. "In theory, Speakers have enormous power, provided the House supports them."

Filling the Speaker's seat will be the final order of business on Sept. 22 when the 38th Parliament opens. Parent, a 62-year-old teacher who represents the Ontario riding of Niagara Centre, may think that campaigning to himself isn't the best idea. The efforts clearly do not suit Gallaway, who fought and lost for the throne in last Parliament to outgoing Speaker Irving. By other companies, has been working the phones, promising to deliver documents and rulings without delay. Parent has been faulted even by fellow Liberals for sometimes allowing conversations and the House to bog

down in petty squabbles. As so working behind the scenes in Nunavut, a rebellious former member of the Liberalist Party who split with the party over its unwillingness to repeal the Goods and Services Tax. The controversial Toronto MP says members of every party—with the exception of the Bloc Québécois—have urged him to run for the post. The biggest push, he claims, is coming from Reform MPs.

On that point, Reform House leader Randy White says his party's members will decide for the speakership. But he adds that Nunavut has "been very open in trying to reform in the House, and he is a very independent." Like most MPs, White stops short of deifying Parent, who could still get up and tell you his old job. "Parent has the experience," he points out. "Until we know who's winning, we can't be sure he's the best of the group." White, however, stresses that Reform wants a Speaker who shares the party's views about reforming Parliament, one of the central planks of its election campaign.

One good place to start, Reformers say, is by bringing the current Speaker's chair out of the backroom, substituting open question and answer sessions between the candidates and their fellow MPs. While, in fact, has gone so far as to book a room in the West Block, and invited the candidates to make their cases. But getting Parent—who's been seconded and not re-elected to the committee—to show up and actually run for the job he wants might be a far bigger problem.

JOHN DE MONT in Ottawa



Parent: some MPs question whether the incumbent Speaker is up to the job

now, all MPs except cabinet ministers or party leaders are automatically considered to be standing for the position until they take their oaths on the last day before the day before the election.

While the job may lack the power or prestige of a cabinet post, on Parliament Hill it is the most hush thing. With the title goes a \$734,000 salary, a private suite in the Centre Block as well as a reception room, and a special residence in the Gatineau Hills. The Speaker, who is elected by the members of Parliament, oversees a staff of 1,400—most clerical and security guards to computer staff—and a budget of \$214 million. Most importantly, he sets the tone for the House, ruling on points of parliamentary procedure, deciding who gets to ask questions and in what order, and keeping unruly squabbling, or worse, under control. Given the highly divided nature of the new Parliament, the Speaker will clearly have to ease every



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War on jail guards

Motorcycle gangs are suspected in two murders

They were on their way to breakfast at Tim Hortons, an early morning routine that made Pierre Rondoux and his partner easy targets. The pair of prison guards—both in uniform, neither armed—pulled up as usual at 6:25 a.m. on their light blue bus for a mandatory stop at a level railway crossing in Montreal's east end. At that moment, two young men in their late 20s sprang from behind a clump of bushes on the quiet residential street. Each brandishing a semiautomatic pistol, they rushed directly at the bus, firing as they ran. Seven quick shots struck the vehicle's windshield, following Rondoux's path as he tipped sideways and fell, his partner completely off-balance.



Earlier today prison bus in Montreal an execution-style slaying

perforated the 40-year-old guard's throat, two more struck his chest, a fourth hit his heart, killing him instantly.

Rondoux's cold-blooded murder last Mon-

day, in the words of Montreal police Chief Jacques Duchesneau, "bore all the marks of a gangland execution." Caught on the heels of the similar killing last June of another prison guard, 42-year-old Duane Lavigne, it provided a 24-hour wildfire at strikes last Wednesday at 11 of Quebec's 18 provincially run jails by guards who fear they are becoming the latest victims in an escalating motorcycle gang war for control of the lucrative trade in illicit drugs.

"These two cowardly assassinations were too well planned to be a coincidence," claimed Réjean Lamerle, president of the 2,000-member union of Quebec correctional services workers. "It is clear that organized crime is behind all of this and the finger of suspicion at the moment is pointing towards the bikers."

Threats abound as to why the biker gangs might be responsible, ranging from an attempt to subvert the criminal justice system, to simple retaliation to frighten prison guards into more co-operative behavior. There are even persistent rumors that it all may be linked to new initiatives aimed at

rehabilitating gang members to prove their loyalty by killing a guard. But whatever the immediate motive, Quebec's ever-unfolding battle between the gangs for control of the drug trade is widely seen as the root cause.

For the past several years, the notorious Rock Machine, an alliance of bikers and Montreal-based criminal families, has been locked in a vicious struggle for turf with the Hells Angels. More than 50 people have been killed in the wars, including an 11-year-old boy who died when a car bomb exploded on an east-end Montreal street. Three years ago, Quebec and federal authorities attempted to crack down on the budding biker by forming the Wolfrum Squad, an anti-gang unit composed of members of the Montreal police department, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the provincial police force, the Sûreté du Québec. The Wolfrum has managed to chalk up some successes. But, in the process, they also appear to have moved the bikers' battles from Quebec's streets to behind the province's prison walls.

"Doing time has become just another way of doing crime," said Dominique de Montreuil, criminologist Jean-Paul Brodeur. He is especially critical of what he describes as the "porous" Quebec provincial prison system, which allows incarcerated bikers to continue to wage their turf battles for control of the drug trade, both inside the prisons as well as in the street. It is significant, Brodeur argues, that neither of the murdered guards was employed at any of Quebec's 12 high-security federal prisons. Instead, they worked in the provincial sys-



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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

CANADA

trial, reserved for inmates serving sentences of two years or less. "These are maximum-security institutions," Bradac noted. "There's a lot of trouble going on and out said that makes it easier to obtain drugs, pass messages—and try to intimidate some guards who may not be as co-operative as others."

The guards themselves do not disagree. "It's easier to get into a prison around here than it is a university," complained union president Lagarde. The union, in fact, has been wearing Quebec's public security authority for the past two years about deteriorating conditions inside the prisons, with increasing clashes between rival gangs of imprisoned bikers. The situation is particularly grim at Quebec's new \$45-million *l'ère des Princes* detention centre in north-eastern Montreal, where 400 short-term prisoners, many of them bikers, are incarcerated. Last March, a fight there between Biker Angels and Rock Machine members nearly escalated into a full blown riot. In April, three homemade firebombs—soft drink cans stuffed with crushed glass, but very acid and sulphur from matches—exploded in the prison yard and a fourth was flung nearly for sure in a cell occupied by a Rock Machine member.

Along with the rising violence, there have been increasing attempts at intimidation. "Learning to live with threats on the job is one thing," said Lagarde. "But it is something else to deal with the same thing outside." In an effort to meet the guards' concerns—and ease them back to work—the Quebec government last week agreed to implement sweeping new security measures, providing the guards with firearms, bullet proof vests and police escorts when they are on duty outside the prisons.

While that resolved the immediate crisis, it did not attack the underlying problem. No Quebec official suggested that either of the two murdered guards was killed in direct personal retaliation. Rather, the authorities claim that it was the uniform both were wearing at the time of their deaths that was the real target. Deneau Langens was gunned down by two men on a motorcycle as she drove home from work at Montreal's Bonaventure jail. Pierre Boudreau and his partner were attacked as they were about to stop for breakfast before travelling on to pick up a husband of prisoners at *l'ère des Princes*. Lagarde's illness, despite the posting of a \$100,000 reward, have yet to be arrested. Boudreau's assassin, too, remains unknown. "These were premeditated crimes, committed by professionals, whose goal is the destabilization of our political system," argued Quebec Public Security Minister Pierre Bélanger. If that is true, the campaign of fear appears to be waning.

BARRY CAHILL in Montreal



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But lawyers for the federal government countered that striking down the new legislation could jeopardize the country's entire gun control system. If federal legislation is a provincial matter, they said, existing federal laws such as those against carrying a concealed weapon could be invalidated. The hearings concluded last week, but a decision is not expected for several months.

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The royal future

After Diana, Britons take stock of their monarchy

Slowly, the flowers began to disappear. Outside the gates of St. James's Palace in London, volunteers and park services staff started peeling cutting through the thousands of cellophane wrappers, and then carefully removing the attached messages—some in crayons, some in hand-drawn wood frames, all expressing love, condolences and tributes for Diana, Princess of Wales. For the volunteers, the work began last Thursday, was painstaking and emotional. "It's quite sad," said Maurice Arledge, wearing the orange tunic of the Queen's Royal Voluntary Service, which supplied the bulk of the manual labor. "It's very moving." And the task is daunting: Millions left some 15 million poems, cards and messages around St. James's, Kensington and Buckingham palaces, volunteers will remove each one, to be preserved in an archive. Thousands of stuffed animals will be donated to hospitals and orphanages. As for the flowers, the healthy ones will find similar homes. But most of the 80 million bouquets, now covered in dust and decaying in the warm September air, are destined for ever-post boxes as the royal perishes.

It was an act of cross-burnage that contained rich symbolism—signaling the beginning of an end to the mourning that has gripped Britain, and the future, since Diana and boyfriend Dodi Al Fayed died in a tragic road accident in Paris. Before and after her Sept. 6 funeral, the public outpouring of emotion in Britain bordered on hysteria, often manifesting itself in bitterly voiced anger at the Royal Family, which faced accusations that it had victimized Diana in life and failed to adequately honor her memory in death. It was a revolution of sorts—the people, in their grief, taking to the streets in the thousands to demand change, at Britain's protocol-bound, tradition-orientated institutions. But as the country swells from its long days and nights of mourning, for many Britons it was time for a more sober assessment. What, in the end, did it all mean?

Beyond the unprecedented events surrounding the death of Diana, a new Britain seems bound to emerge—more open, more democratic and more attuned with the syncretistic, instant-celebrity spirit that the Princess of Wales has come to embody. The shift in national mood was already there—evident in the election in May of a Labour government, after 18 years of Conservative rule. But the aftermath of the funeral has enhanced the spirit of reform—and it could leave the monarchy, bound by 25th-century rituals and values, at its wits' end. "There's a new mood in the United Kingdom, controlled by a new sense of identity, and not by heritage and tradition and protocol," says Tim Barclay, senior researcher at the London-based think-tank, Demos. "With Diana's death, the old and the new have been thrown into stark contrast." Now, Britain's institutions are having to catch up—"modernize"—in the byword.



PRINCE WILLIAM
OF WALES
WITH
ASSIGNMENT
JOE CHIDLEY
IN LONDON

day's attitudes. Blair also revealed he had planned to make Diana a special error for Britain on humanitarian issues. In fact, the interview was a courageous move—it breached a long-standing custom that prime ministers not publicly discuss royal meetings. And it also gave the impression, at least, that someone in authority was listening to the people. "What the monarchy needs," says historian David Cannadine, "is a devastating Benjamin Disraeli"—a politician, like Queen Victoria's prime minister, with the savvy to push the Royal family into the next century. So far, Blair seems to have pulled himself out of the mire on that role.

It could prove a symbiotic relationship, because the Diana fever that has gripped Britain seems likely to spur on Labour's electoral initiatives. Chief among them is a Labour election promise to purge the House of Lords of hereditary members—long a symbol, to cer-



Princes William, Harry and Charles after the funeral, only to skip a generation

It is all good news for Prince Minister Tony Blair and his Labour government. More than any other public figure—with the exception, perhaps, of Earl Charles Spencer, whose stirring funeral speech for Diana galvanized the public's sense of grief and outrage—Blair has captured the national mood and capitalized on the desire for change. And he has broken a few rules of his own. The day after the funeral, Blair spoke in a television interview about his four-hour meeting with the Queen, in which they talked about the monarchy's need to adapt. Prince Charles, Blair said, was brought up differently from his mother, and his sons, William and Harry, will be "children of today with to-

day's attitudes." Blair also revealed he had planned to make Diana a special error for Britain on humanitarian issues. In fact, the interview was a courageous move—it breached a long-standing custom that prime ministers not publicly discuss royal meetings. And it also gave the impression, at least, that someone in authority was listening to the people. "What the monarchy needs," says historian David Cannadine, "is a devastating Benjamin Disraeli"—a politician, like Queen Victoria's prime minister, with the savvy to push the Royal family into the next century. So far, Blair seems to have pulled himself out of the mire on that role.

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A boy sent help ahead up St. James's Palace: a revolution of sorts

should be the next king. "Public opinion is not against the monarchy," says Cannadine. "It's against the particular style of monarchy that is on offer at the moment."

For an institution that for much of the century has defined itself by Victorian-era observances and rituals, remaking itself is bound to be difficult. And there are few concrete ideas on how it should start. One of them, however, is the so-called prince-to-be bill, written by Lord Jeffrey Archer, the well-known novelist. Revising with 1,000 years of tradition, the bill proposes that the Crown pass on to the eldest heir, no matter which gender Archer admits that such a move would be largely symbolic—after Queen Elizabeth, England is likely to be reigned over by kings for the next 50 years or more. Still, he argues, the symbolism is important, and he duly expects the bill to become law by next March. "The suggestion from some members of my House that women are somehow not up to the job is the most bullshitting rubbish I've ever heard," Archer told *Mirror*'s "The truth of the matter is, we live in a new age."

For the moment, however, the House of Windsor has shown itself to be uncharacteristic in that age. From the legislation with which Buckingham Palace agreed to fly the Union Jack at half-mast on the day of Diana's funeral, to the Queen's stilled television tribute the day before, the royals have often seemed to reveal the national mood many Britons expect them to reflect. On the train to the family burial at Althorp, north of London, Buckingham Palace officials craved to see what Diana's son, "Her Royal Highness," which she was forced to give up when she divorced Charles in 1996. Thanks, but no thanks, was the Spencer family's reply to what many regarded as a too-late attempt at reconciliation. "Diana would not have wanted it," said Spencer, "and it is not what we want." More embarrasments are undoubtedly on the way with the publication of *The Royals*, a new book, five years in the making, by Kitty Kelly—the American biographer who scandalized the U.S. presidency with her 1991 biography of Nancy Reagan. Promising to sketch "the hidden truths" of the Windsor family, the new book will not be published in Britain—the U.S. edition of *The Royals* has already threatened to sue for libel if it is. The New York City-based publisher Warner Books, which paid Kelly a \$5-million advance, pushed up the U.S. publication date in the wake of Diana's death, and has released one million copies in North America.

Probably untidy, the big loser in all the Windsor bashing has been the Prince of Wales. The job was set early in his decade to have William and Harry attend church services on the Sunday of her mother's death, for instance, was perhaps hardly religious, but it was also widely criticized as an abuse of the prince's prerogative. As his friends say, in the week before the funeral Charles apparently urged the Queen and Buckingham Palace to respond publicly to the grief over Diana.

In fact, there is more than a little irony in the public demand that

ics, of an entrenched and unfair class system in British politics. Since May, the party that seemed to put that promise on the back burner. But last week, Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, speaking at a national trade union conference in Brighton, revisited the issue—no no uncertain terms. "By the time we meet again next year," Cook said, "we will be on the verge of putting into practice our commitment to pass legislation to clear that medieval hunk of Parliament."

Still, the Royal Family is in a different class than the hereditary lords, constitutionally and emotionally—it could not easily just go away. Last week, a Gallup poll in the *Daily Telegraph* suggested 64 per cent of Britons still respected the Royal Family, with only 11 per cent favoring abolishing a republic. But the survey also showed that people wanted change: 71 per cent desired a more accessible and democratic monarchy, along the lines of the Dutch system. For the first time, a majority—51 per cent—thought that the royal succession should stop generations and start Prince William, rather than Charles,

WORLD

Charles step aside. For one thing, he is clearly as devoted to social justice as Diana ever was. His various good works—including the Prince's Trust charities for young people and his business in the Commonwealth, with its 100,000 employees of \$87 million—have made him a hero to many of Britain's poor. And in his own, decidedly non-ideological way, he has mounted a carefully planned campaign to modernize the monarchy. "No one could be more aware than Prince Charles that this is an institution that has got to adapt and change," says Tom Schiller, a senior adviser at the Prince's Trust. "Despite what people say, this is not a stuffy man."

In the end, that may not matter—Charles seems stuffy. "Charles has always been a caring father—he just doesn't show it in public," says Leigh Seward, editor-in-chief at *Majesty* magazine. "He has never wanted to be seen bowing to media pressure." In the wake of the unprecedented outpouring of affection for his ex-wife, commentators agree that any plans he may have harbored to marry longtime love Camilla Parker Bowles—who in previous months had engaged a public relations firm to now effectively scupper it—Charles is unlikely to say aside for William—he has been preparing all his life to become king. But it is unclear whether he can effectively take the monarchy into the 21st century, or ever recapture public favor. "Charles is not a leader," Diana told *The Mirror*, editor of *The New Yorker*, in June. "He was born in the wrong job." Observes *Catalan*: "He could never compete with Di in life when she was a superior. He certainly cannot now that she is a saint."

Although the mourning has wound, the progress of Diana from tabloid queen to Queen of the People's Heart will continue. Kensington Palace, Diana's west London home, has taken on the appearance of a shrine. Even as workers begin dismantling the mountain of flowers there, thousands lined up to leave more. How long the worship of Diana will continue is anybody's guess. There is certainly no lack of society owners of the intense-perfect persona. But none is like Diana. Britain's elite have a living, breathing love in William—the 15-year-old prince upon whom the hopes of the country rest. "He is, to look at, Diana," says Archer, who worked with the prince on her anti-land mines campaign. "We're struck by that every day of our lives—we have that person to look at who reminds us not of Charles, but of Diana." For good or ill, it is an image that will haunt the same, evergreen Britain—and its monarchy—for a long time to come. □

A TROUBLED ARISTOCRAT

The man seems rich—that Charles Spencer, the ninth Earl of Althorp and a scion of one of England's oldest and wealthiest aristocratic families, should become a beacon for the common people and their desire for reform. But to the millions in Britain who continued to mourn Diana, Princess of Wales, last week, Spencer's criticism of the monarchy, his attack on the paparazzi and his vow to protect his relatives from the warring effects of celebrity summed up the changing spirit of the nation. Yet his



Spencer near Diana's grave; press hounds

comments in his powerful tribute to his niece—particularly as tabloid as the press—were also deeply rooted in his own, often troubled history.

Born in 1954, Charles Spencer was the long-awaited son to John, heir to the earldom of Althorp, after three daughters, Sarah, Jane and Diana. (His wife, Frances Ruth Burke Rasche, had given birth to a son before Diana, but the baby died lived for only 30 hours.) As children, Charles and Diana—who older by three years—spent their days exploring the bricks and woods around Park House, the estate the family owned near the Queen when John Spencer served as her equerry.

Early on, however, family troubles introduced the children to the media spotlight. Their parents, married in county life, were unusually remote. In 1960, after Frances Spencer left her spouse for businessman Peter Shaw Kydd (later her husband), the marriage ended in what

became one of Britain's most highly publicized civil cases. The effect on Charles, he later said, was devastating. In 1975, when his father became sick, the family moved to the estate at Althorp, a sprawling 3,400-hectare property 130 km north of London—which Charles has called "a nightmare place."

Attending exclusive Eton boys' school and later Oxford, the handsome teenager was soon pegged by the tabloids as England's most eligible bachelor. Headline-writers dubbed him "Champagne Charles"—a sobriquet that hounds say later described his high-living hangers-on. After 1989, his marriage to former model Victoria Lockwood proved yet more fodder for the press—especially when it was revealed that she suffered from the eating disorder bulimia. In 1991, after weeks of probed speculation, he admitted to a brief affair with a London courtesan, Sally Ann Lawson.

When John Spencer died a year later, Charles inherited Althorp, and his developed a reputation as a sober, if outspoken, young aristocrat. Along with Diana, he publicly fell out with his stepmother, Kate, over her plans to sell estate valuations to pay for a costly \$4.4-million renovation. And his battles with the tabloids continued. He blamed them for the breakup of Diana's marriage, labeling Britain's reporters "the most scurrilous bunch of journalists in any nation."

The papers, in turn, had a field day when Charles's friend and best man, playboy Dennis Guppy, was jailed for a \$4-million insurance fraud in 1994. But in public and private, Charles stuck by his friend. And last year, he exacted a revenge, of sorts, on the tabloids: he successfully sued the tabloid *Express* for libel in implying he had profited from Guppy's crime, and was awarded \$111,000.

With his marriage falling apart, Spencer moved to South Africa in 1996. There, he has dabbled in journalism—writing for the London-based *Guardian*—and lives in a Cape Town house he rents for \$22,000 a month. With him are his four children—Kitty, 6, twins Katie and Elio, 5, and son Louis, 3. His soon-to-be ex-wife—Spencer has filed for divorce—lives five kilometers away. Despite his now-famous promise to play a role in the upbringing of princes William and Harry, it seems unlikely he will leave his South African enclave. "My children would prefer not to live at Althorp," he said last year, explaining his move. "[They] like it when we go away and have a quieter, more intimate time." After similar struggles with status and privacy in a tabloid life, perhaps, that his sister would have wanted.



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Too many rumors

The underpass where Diana, Princess of Wales, was killed on Aug. 31 has turned into an iconic Paris landmark. Taxi drivers say many passengers either ask for a detour to pass by the location of the accident or insist on going to a wide berth. So when police suddenly closed off the Tunnel de l'Asnieres for about 30 minutes one morning last week, the familiar scene sent shivers through many drivers along the Seine River embankment. Actually, the closure was to allow Hervé Stephan and Marie-Chantal David, the co-accused rapist, to be charged of the investigation into Diana's death. It was the first time the two judges have been seen together in public. In keeping with the investigation to be, however, they made an appearance on their work. Two days later, the two magistrates were outside again, this time looking over the tangled wreckage of the Mercedes death car in a police garage in northern Paris. Again, the pair remained silent.

With rumors for autumner established facts, what has been like an open secret since the accident: caused by a drunk driver had been shrouded in mystery. By week's end, there had been only two statements from the Paris prosecutor's office, both on the degree of alcohol consumed by her 41-year-old chauffeur, Henri Paul. The only other official moves were the charges laid against nine photographers and a press agency motorcycle. They were charged on three counts each: manslaughter, and a police source said "another five or six" people were being sought for questioning.

Two weeks after Diana died in a Paris hospital, the French authorities had still not issued an official chronology of events in the early hours of Aug. 31. Not even the exact time of the accident has been put out. The emergency services have issued no formal statement, preferring to pass word informally to one newspaper that they received two phone calls, at 35 and 36 minutes past midnight, reporting the accident. Apart from that, there were no angry details of some of the sensationalized reports in the tabloids. Among them was a statement by the Paris



Wrecked Mercedes-Benz 190 in 1994: a fatal cocktail



Hard facts on Diana's death are hard to come by

hospital authority denying that Diana suffered a heart attack in the ambulance taking her to Salpêtrière hospital. Other sources cast doubt on supposed last words attributed to Diana as she lay trapped in the wreckage of the car.

The prosecutor's office issued its second statement on the alcohol level on the driver's blood after the first was disputed by lawyers for the family of Dodi Fayed, Diana's companion, and for the family of the driver. The new report confirmed that Henri Paul had a level of at least 175 mg of alcohol per 100 g of blood—the equivalent of one and a half bottles of wine and more than three times the French legal limit on ensuring that there was no contamination of the blood due to Paul's internal injuries—or, as Fayed lawyers had suggested, (cardiac personnel) also found Paul's eye (and so) obtained the same result.

In addition, the prosecutor's office said the tests had turned up traces of fluoxetine, present in the popular anti-depressant Prozac, and tiagride, found in the French drug Tapinol, a tranquilizer prescribed for agitated and aggressive states of mind and eventually used to treat alcoholics. This made for a lethal cocktail, government doctors said the drugs should never be mixed with alcohol, and people should not drive while taking them. The manner led to speculation—fueled by the photographers' lawyers—that the investigation would now focus on the Al Fayed-owned Ritz Hotel, where Paul was the deputy head of security.

Some of the photographers have said they arrived on the scene up to 15 minutes after the accident. Police, who had never looked for a photograph, say they believe that no photographer was able to keep up with the speeding car. Sources say the Mercedes 280 SE reached a speed of over 200 km/h before it hit the right wall of the tunnel near the entrance. After that, there was no official account of precisely how it bounced and spun out of control for nearly 40 m, moving to rest after crashing into a concrete pillar on the left, near the tunnel exit.

Police hinted that charges against some of the photographers would be dropped. With a total of 50 police officers working on the case, one said they were still sorting other paperwork who had been at the scene at the crash seconds after it was over. Three of them, he said, had been identified. "We know their phone numbers and their agencies and we are suggesting that they should come in for questioning," this source said.

In the meantime, the last known witness to Diana's final moments seconds, Trevor Rees-Jones, a British bodyguard employed by the Al Fayed family was traveling in the car, remained in intensive care. After 30 hours of facial surgery, his doctors said he was still unable to speak. Even when he was ready to answer questions, they said, there was a strong possibility that shock may have wiped those vital last moments from his memory. That raised the chilling possibility that the full truth about Diana's crash might never be known.

JULIAN NENYI in Paris



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A 'distinct identity'

Scots vote decisively for their own parliament

Two a Canadian ear, it had an all-too-familiar ring. The issue was national unity, a debate that gripped an uneasy majority worried about the breakup of the country and fearful of reunification with a distinct identity and an annual yearning for a measure of political independence. And there was a referendum involved, complete with Yes and No sides and snappy campaign slogans. But the issue was Scotland, not Quebec, and when the results came in last week, the outcome seemed a far happier occasion than any parallel I could have kept for Canada. In voting overwhelmingly Yes for their own parliament, Scots ended nearly 300 years of rule by London alone and took a major step towards becoming masters in their own house.

"This is a great day for Scotland, one of the most important days in our country's long history," said Donald Dewar, the British Labour government's minister for Scotland and chief architect of the groundswelling movement.

Two questions were on the referendum. The first asked Scots to decide whether they wanted their own parliament, a 129-seat body with wide—but not exclusive—powers to govern Scotland's 5 million people. That passed easily, with 74 per cent in favour. The second sought approval to grant the proposed parliament the authority to raise or lower income taxes by as much as three per cent, providing an additional \$4 billion annually for the Scottish treasury. That was approved by a 61 per cent vote. The next step will be elections for the new parliament, to be held in the first half of 1999, with the institution first in place by June 1, 2000. At that time, Scots will be in a position to exercise more control over their own affairs than they have enjoyed since political union between Scotland and England in 1707. "Bringing a parliament back to Scotland after nearly 300 years will be a historic occasion," said Bill Spence, a spokesman for Scotland Forward, one of the groups that campaigned for a Yes vote. "It's something we want the whole people of Scotland to participate in and to celebrate."

The establishment of a Scottish parliament is the fulcrum of an election promise by Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, who took office in May. He pledged to initiate a broad devolution of all powers from the central government at Westminster in London to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the



After years of celebration in Edinburgh, Scots vote about independence

three constituent parts that with England, make up the United Kingdom. Unlike Canada, the United Kingdom has no provincial governments—no other levels of authority at all, but, lying between municipal governments and Westminster, Labour vowed to change all that and the Scottish referendum was the first step in the process. That work was in Wales will be asked to approve the creation of a Welsh assembly similar to the Scottish institution but, less powerful, with

no tax-raising authority. Northern Ireland is next on Blair's agenda, but devolution there awaits a settlement of the province's religious wars.

In promoting devolution, Blair's government hopes to tug Scottish dreams of outright independence in the lead. When he first unveiled the plan last July, Dewar described the scheme as a process of recognizing Scotland's "distinctive identity" while keeping the Scots within the United Kingdom. And the powers of the proposed Scottish parliament have been carefully presented to ensure that, while the members of the new institution will be able to debate independence, they will never actually be able to achieve it. Scottish legislators will govern strictly local concerns: matters such as health, education, municipal government, economic development, criminal and civil law, fisheries and forestry.

Still, there are many voices, particularly in the British Conservative party, who feel Blair's program will merely fan the flames of regional nationalism, leading to the country's eventual breakup. "It cannot lead in any other direction," declared Conservative MP Michael Ancerson, the Tory party's spokesman for constitutional affairs and a leading No campaigner. The independence-minded Scottish National Party certainly hopes the Tory view is correct. The SNP believes that once Scots get used to having their own regional government, the temptation to take over their own affairs completely will be overwhelming. "We think there is every chance that the creation of a Scottish parliament will eventually lead to an independent Scotland," confirmed one SNP campaigner, speaking in Edinburgh.

Whatever the future holds, there are some Scottish voters ready to express concern about the entire process, largely because of Canada's experience. "The fear many of us have in Scotland is whether we're likely to find ourselves in a position like Quebec," remarked Edinburgh's mayor, Iain Macgillivray, a Labour Party member. "I think there is clear evidence that Quebec has suffered because of the years of its territorial debate. As we move to establish a parliament and change the constitutional relationship of 300 years, we do not want to find ourselves in the same old-side-as-Canada." Last week, however, most Scots were simply expressing the chance to have their own voice again.

BURKE CAINE with **ALLAN GORF** in Edinburgh

World NOTES

ALBRIGHT TALKS TOUGH

U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright ended her first official visit to the Middle East, vowing not to return until Israeli and Palestinian leaders and their next words and make some "hard decisions." She urged Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to stick close to his word. Islamic groups responsible for suicide attacks in Israel. She also attacked Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for "inconsistent acts," such as building new Jewish settlements on the West Bank.

ANGER IN HAITI

Robbers of more than 200 vehicles of a ferry disaster off the coast of Haiti blocked a highway with burning tires after Canadian peacekeepers suspended their effort to recover bodies. After returning 79 corpses, the Canadians called in the U.S. navy, which has more expertise in deep-sea diving. The tragedy occurred when travelers in the overcrowded ferry crowded to one side, capsizing the boat.

WAFFLING ON IRA ARMS

Just days after Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, agreed to abandon violence, IRA guerrillas said they would not hand in their weapons until a lasting political solution was found. The announcement dealt a blow to peace talks set for this week and raised questions about Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams's ability to follow through on his commitments.

HELMS BLOCKS WELD

In a dramatic session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, conservative chairman Jesse Helms refused to hold a hearing on the nomination of former Massachusetts governor William Weld as ambassador to Mexico. Most analysts believed the move was Helms's chance for the post. Helms has criticized his fellow Republican's moderate views on social issues.

THE BEATING OF BIKO

Two former South African policemen insisted that killing black activist Steve Biko was solely accidental in prison in 1977, in a struggle after he attacked his five interrogators. The policemen, seeking amnesty before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, claimed Biko's head against a wall during the police. Lawyers for Biko's family say the real story had still come out.



Funeral procession in Calcutta: a eulogy heard by 12,000 mourners and a global TV audience

A farewell to Mother Teresa

Scores of mourners slipped past police to raw beside the jammed garlanded carriage that bore Mother Teresa to her funeral Mass in Calcutta on Saturday, eight days after she died of a heart attack at 87. Mother, as she was known, was transported on the same cart carriage used in the funeral of India's founding leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Prime Minister Jean Chretien's wife Alice represented Canada at the state funeral, while Hillary Clinton represented the United States—both laying wreaths at the side of the open coffin in an indoor stadium. "Perhaps the greatest message she has given is the value and dignity of human life," the Archbishop of Calcutta, Henry D'Souza, said in a eulogy heard by 12,000 mourners and a global television audience. Cardinal Angelo Scola, speaking in the

name of the Pope, praised Mother Teresa for showing love and compassion to the poor while others simply defined how to help them. "At the close of a century that has known terrible extremes of darkness, the light of conscience has not been altogether extinguished," he declared. The government's decision to put the military in charge of the funeral of a Nobel Peace Prize winner caused controversy in India, as did her burial in a crypt in the basement of Mother House, the 14-story nunnery in Calcutta behind a crowded alley of the city—removed from the poor she served. Other Catholics said she should be buried where all could easily visit the grave. Although Mother Teresa had taken a vow of poverty, those who knew her said she would have viewed the pomp surrounding her death as a tribute to the poor.

China goes private

In a potentially historic move that affirmed China's commitment to the reform drive, Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin announced an ambitious plan to privatize most of the nation's 370,000 poorly performing state enterprises. Speaking in Baotou, a Great Wall of the People, Jiang said more than 2,000 delegates to the 15th Communist Party Congress will privateize them—growth he dubbed "economic democracy"—is not inconsistent with socialism. On experts were absent over the speech, which appeared to

show that Jiang had withdrawn pressure from party hardliners and will accept the rubric of 12 billion to most reformers, who believe that his mentor Deng Xiaoping, who died last February at 92, just before his Congress speech, Jiang underplayed his anti-corruption campaign by stopping now that former Billionaire, major Chen Duxiu, of his party membership and changing line with outbidding more than \$30 million. In his speech, Jiang said that Western-style private freedoms, but insisted that from a more independent judiciary and more accountability of locally elected Communist cadres.

Empire of the sons

A new generation is rebuilding the Reichmann family fortune

SPECIAL REPORT

BY JOHN SCHOFIELD

There was a time in 1992, as the rubble of his family's shattered real estate empire rained down around him, when Philip Reichmann considered leaving it all behind. For what, he wasn't sure. All he could think about was that Olympia & York Developments Ltd., the company he had grown up with, had disappeared in a cloud of debt. As a small boy, he had inherited with sole models of O & Y skyscrapers. At 21, he became the first Reichmann of his generation to join the firm. He rose to become director of leasing and took a seat on the board of its U.S. subsidiary Skidmore, his world came crashing down. "For a fleeting moment, I thought maybe I ought to do something different," recalls the 39-year-old son of Albert Reichmann, who, along with brothers Paul and Ralph, had built O & Y into one of the world's pre-eminent commercial landlords. "Then I decided to focus on the things I had learned. I wasn't going to throw that away."

Far from squandering his hard-won experience, Philip Reichmann is today assembling his own real estate empire on the remains of the old. He and his partner, Frank Hauser, Paul Reichmann's now-in-law, are ambitiously driven by the family's age-old passion for business. But they are also in a position of sorts—a drive to redress the family's tarnished reputation after the largest failure in Canadian corporate history.

Nothing, as always, the glare of publicity, other members of the secretive Reichmann clan are doggedly engaged in the same crusade. Ralph's 30-year-old son Abraham is the managing partner behind Centurion Technologies, a nascent, \$750-million enterprise park now being planned for suburban Toronto—and the Reichmanns' largest single project since Casey Wharf, the sprawling London office complex whose railway costs helped to seal Olympia & York's fate. Abraham's brother Steven, 30, hopes to make his own mark as chairman of a high-tech company that allows firms to market their wares over the Internet. Barry, 31, Paul's eldest son, is on a quest for dominance in Canada's fast-growing nursing home industry. With this \$220-million takeover at Centurion, Oct-based Versa-Care Ltd., his Toronto-based CPL Corp. Three-Care Real Estate Investment Trust is now the country's second-largest operator of nursing homes. Finally, in what may well be the most significant venture for the famously staid family, Philip Reichmann's 30-year-old brother David is the co-owner of the largest chain of in-line skate stores in the United States.

The older generation, too, has been far from idle since the dark days of 1992. Of the three elder Reichmanns, Paul—the visionary who masterminded O & Y's meteoric rise and took much of the responsibility for its disastrous fall—has so far stayed the most significant comeback. He owns 70 per cent of Central Park Lodges Ltd., which spun off the independently operated CPH Real



Paul Reichmann; Philip (right) in his Toronto office on a mission

Estate Investment Trust earlier this year, and is gradually increasing his stake in First Canadian Place, the Toronto skyscraper that ranked among the family's first major edifices. He is also planning plans to build an office tower in Mexico City and, in 1996, was part of a consortium that regained control of Casey Wharf for \$1.6 billion.

Even so, the senior Reichmanns' former glory is likely gone forever. Now in their 60s, they stand almost no chance of being able to recreate an empire that, at its height, encompassed premier office properties in some of the world's largest metropolises and controlling interests in Canadian corporate giants such as North-Pole Inc. and Gulf Canada Resources. In 1991, the family pulled fourth in *Forbes* magazine's list of the world's top 500 billionaires, with an estimated \$17 billion. A year later, they disappeared from the list. Any hope of restoring that legacy now rests with the next generation. Ironically, O & Y's collapse freed the sons of Paul, Albert and Ralph—the women of the family are not active in business—to encroach their own entrepreneurial gifts. If the company had endured



their lives might have been very different. "With the old O & Y, a company that was worth some \$200-million, there was always the expectation that I'd find my way into some arm or some division of O & Y someplace," says David Reichmann in one of his undisciplined skate emporiums in Miami Beach. "Whether I'd be running *North-Pole* today or *Gulf Canada*, who knows."

In a sense, O & Y's downfall also lifted an enormous burden from the shoulders of the younger Reichmanns. "Not only were they constrained in growing up Orthodox, but they had to grow up Reichmanns—which are some very big shoes to fill," says Anthony Russo, a New York City writer who chronicled the family's epic story earlier this year in his book, *The Reichmanns*. The emotional consequences of these pressures were revealed most dramatically in the death of Ralph's eldest son, David, who succumbed to an apparent cocaine overdose in Israel in 1994. "He was among the most

ambitious members of the generation," Blaise says, "and he just wasn't able to handle it."

Of all the members of the younger generation, Philip Reichmann and Frank Hauser seem most consumed with restoring the family legacy. Since Olympia & York's demise the two have created one of Canada's fastest-growing real estate and property management companies. Late last year, they acquired a controlling interest in what remained of another firm, London, Canada Corp., once the proud domain of developer Robert Campeau. After receiving shareholders' approval at Canada's annual meeting in Toronto on July 30, Philip stood proudly on the podium and officially renamed the company O & Y Properties Corp.

It is virtually the same name Reichmann and Hauser chose in 1993 when, in a first of many, they convinced many of Olympia &

Cyberspace salesman

York's creditors to let them continue making the buildings that had just been sold from the family. "It required them to go out and build their business directly with the companies that were lighting them," says Steven Sharpe, a Toronto investor who helped acquire Olympia & York's real estate bankruptcy. They called their effort the O & Y Properties Inc. Philip Reichmann acknowledges that a number of clients wandered away he was keeping the O & Y name. But four years later, he says, the dark cloud that threatened the initials has largely dissipated. "Today we hardly ever bring into any baggage."

Still, some investors appear less forgiving than others. A Canadian share offer may last spring raised \$50 million—\$20 million short of the target. In his own halfhearted interpretation, Philip describes the offering as "an indication of huge confidence," but some analysts say there is a lingering wariness about the Reichmann name. "There's no doubt that a collapse of O & Y's multiple has some implications," says one Bay Street market watcher.

Philip says those concerns are unfounded and that the family has learned from its mistakes. He says he is more cautious than his father and his nephew, more consultative, and committed to growth through only offshoots, not debt. But for now, at least, that growth will be tightly focused as the market he knows best, Canada.

As the last Reichmann to run a publicly traded company, Philip has encountered a host of other changes, as well. "It's a whole different set of the business world that we had to encounter before," he says. In the office, he experiences a casual atmosphere and refuses to be called Mr. Reichmann. Ultimately he says, his business credo comes down to one word: responsibility. "There is absolutely nothing that I'm more passionate about. I'm here to create growth and wealth and do that at a steady and conservative pace."

The company's growth has been aggressive. Its portfolio of managed properties has increased to 236 real estate assets from 410,000 square meters in 1990. In July, Reichmann and Hauer bought three Toronto office towers for \$82 million. The company is now on the hunt for more acquisitions in the U.S. and Europe. Philip predicts, O & Y Real Estate Corp. will be one of the country's top real estate companies.

In contrast to the more austere lifestyles of the other Reichmanns, Philip clearly enjoys the fruits of his wealth. He drives a \$172,000 Lexus LX450 sport-utility vehicle, and owns three classic cars: a 1966 Corvette, a 1957 Thunderbolt and a 1957 DeSoto America, one of only two cars made after the war that incorporates a suspension made there. Like other family members, Philip has become steeped in the tradi-

tion before his family's real estate empire crumbled in 1992. Steven Reichmann had doubts about his future in the bricks and mortar business. As the son of Olympia & York's late president brother Ralph, his life was never as well-defined as that of his cousin Philip. Nevertheless, in 1985, Reichmann decided to try his hand at property development after cutting his corporate teeth at the family's commercial real estate company in Toronto. He spent two years at a trust company run by family friend Allan Silar and then moved to Trane, a property developer controlled by the Reichmanns and

stayed off the building in the Toronto suburb of North York, he has jumped headlong into one of the most volatile markets around—the Internet. Reichmann runs the Canadian branch for Internet-based Commerce Exchange Systems, a U.S.-based on-line service that links product vendors in 15 countries with buyers around the world. "We pride ourselves on being a business-to-business direct marketing company," he says.

It's a terrific tool. The company's Internet site, one of the largest on the World Wide Web, offers everything from picnic umbrellas to discontinued Disneys. Vendors, who pay \$5,496 a year to belong to the service, post descriptions and photos of their products and wait for a response from one of 10,000 pre-screened buyers. The six-month-old service already boasts some successes. Toronto jeweler Jack Benkowitz was skeptical about the option when he accepted a shipment of watches last April as part of a trial but three weeks later, he had a bid from Value City Department Stores, a discount store in Cleveland. By then, the watches were out of stock, but the customer bought \$85,000 worth of jewelry anyway. "We anticipate they will be a million-dollar account in our first 12 months of business with them," says Benkowitz. Adds Reichmann: "This is electronic commerce—this is the way the world is going."

Reichmann—who divorced his wife of 10 years, Shirley, in 1995—is no stranger to technology. In 1989, he and Bruce Reisman, the son of the late Peter Reisman, bought an on-line service called National HairInfo. "We were the America Online before its time in Canada," remembers David Cynamon, an Edmonton who sponsored the purchase. In 1995, the three men sold the company for \$45 million in a management buyout.

Not all of Reichmann's investments were as successful. "He liked to dabble in things," says Cynamon. "And when people like to dabble, more often than not they get burned." It's a phrase, says Cynamon, Reichmann was generous to a fault. And for all his enthusiasm, there was one opportunity that Reichmann regretted passing up. In the late 1980s, a hyperactive Weinbaum named Tony Matthews approached him to invest in an Ottawa-based high-tech start-up. Reichmann turned him down. The company, Newedge Networks Inc., is now a multi-million-dollar giant, with \$1.1 billion in annual revenues.

Rolling forward

The image of a Reichmann gliding around on inline skates might strike some people as odd. Even David Reichmann, the co-founder of a Miami-based retail chain known as Skate 2000, admits the idea struck him as strange at first. One of his friends, Toronto lawyer Michael Rosen, was vacationing in Miami's gritty South Beach area in 1993 when he gave David a call. "He said, 'Hey David, why don't we open a skate shop in South Beach?'" recalls Albert Reichmann, a 33-year-old son. "So I said, 'Michael, the son got to go. Come back home, go back to work, and it's gone.'"

It didn't. And by last year, the chain was growing so fast that David left his job at Toronto-based O & Y Properties—the real estate firm run by his brother



David Reichmann's "brasserie" grows potently

Philip and Frank Hauer, Paul Reichmann's son-in-law—to help manage Skate 2000 full time. He now commutes weekly between Toronto, where his wife and four children still reside, and his Miami Beach office. With 18 stores in Florida and Georgia, and plans to expand into Texas, the firm ranks as the largest U.S. chain of specialty inline skate shops. Reichmann, an avid skater himself, was even bigger things ahead. "There's tremendous growth potential in this business," he says. "It's really the only true new sport in our lifetimes. The only regel I have is that we didn't go out quicker than we did."

Pomer and Skate are making up for lost time. To date, Skate 2000 offers five lessons and a two-year guarantee. And this year, the company began selecting franchisees. The company eventually hopes to expand into Canada, but not anytime soon. Says Reichmann: "We're busy enough in the States."

Good on his faith. He lives with his wife, Hannah, and their five children in the same predominantly Orthodox neighborhood, near North York's Lawrence and Bathurst streets, that the Reichmanns have inhabited since the 1960s. When he is not working, he devotes time to family or charity. His activities, "Our role in the community is very important to us," he says. "Those values haven't changed." If Philip has his way, neither will the Reichmanns' importance to Canada's real estate industry.

Long after his cousin found their place in the family empire, Barry Reichmann was studying the Jewish



Barry's job is to guard the family's stake in the firm. "Nothing I've seen would indicate he believes he is an expert in providing health-care services," says Dillane. "What the Reichmanns bring to the table is the real estate and financial component of our business." That said, Dillane describes the junior Reichmann as an "active businessowner" with a genuine entrepreneurial flair.

When it collapsed in 1992, Olympia & York's debt load stood at a staggering \$39.6 billion. The company might have destroyed what was left of Barry Reichmann, but it didn't. Remarkably, though, the Reichmanns' lifestyle has changed little from the days when their fortune rivaled that of the British Royal Family. "Everyone has worked harder than we would here," says David Reichmann. "But there really wasn't a significant upward effect there. OK, we have to think a little bit more about what we're doing five years after the fall, that's exactly what the Reichmanns are doing."

company is double Reichmanns—on a grand scale. "We believe that this acquisition will help us achieve our stated goal of becoming the premier provider of nursing home services in the country," he says.

Conrad Park Lodges formed the investment trust earlier this year to list more corporate assets in the nursing home sector. Operating like a mutual fund, the trust trades on the Toronto Stock Exchange and generated \$86 million in a public offering in May. It plans to issue more units than it did to finance the latest deal.

Barry Reichmann is explained that the aging population—the number of Canadians over 75 is forecast to increase 60 per cent over the next 20 years—means a bright future for the trust. To guide its growth, he has surrounded himself with an all-star cast of business veterans: George Kohl and his family, who own 30 per cent of Conrad Park Lodges, and Bill Dillane, the trust's chief operating officer, both have more than 25 years' experience in the nursing home industry. And the trust's board is a who's who of the Canadian establishment. Along with Paul Reichmann, it includes former Bank of Canada governor John Crow, CTV chairman Douglas Bassett and Vancouver billionaire Henry Patkau.

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'EVERYTHING IS TIMING'

To Abraham Reichmann, fun is serious business

For a guy who hopes to build one of the biggest amusement parks in the world, Abraham Reichmann sounds awfully serious. On a surprise visit to a friend's office one brilliantly sunny summer morning, 34-year-old son joins the floor and waves his hands as he discusses the colossal complex he calls Technodome. "Technodome? Maybe it is the \$750-million price tag or the sheer scale of the proposed undertaking—the largest single project launched by a Reichmann since Caesars World, the two-a-weeking old hill, an artificial lake, water-skiing riding and a rotating array of other attractions—all under one roof as the former Downsview military base in the Toronto suburb of North York. "It cannot be verbally described—it's way beyond that," says Gilbert Fisher, a financial adviser on the project. "This is a man who doesn't finish his



Abraham Reichmann: 'A burning desire to create'

Started for completion in 2000, Technodome. Technodome promises to be the world's largest, most technologically advanced indoor sports and entertainment facility, rising the equivalent of 32 stories and sprawling over 300,000 square meters. It will be followed two years later by a \$1.1-billion amusement park that Reichmann plans to build on New York City's Rockaway peninsula. Eventually, he hopes to take the concept to the U.S. West Coast and Europe. Technodome is intended to serve as the blueprint, instilling attractions on four tiers surrounding a 450-ft-high hill. "Every time you go up one level, you'll experience something different," says Steve Diamond, the project's lead lawyer. At the foot of the mountain, visitors will find a white-water rafting course and sandy beach. The second level will host an assortment of restaurants and shops tied to sports and entertainment events. Level 3 will feature a massive hall of fame and re-creation of sports symbolic of national games, such as Boarben Street for jazz. The top floor will house movie-themed attractions and rides.

As envisioned by Reichmann, Technodome will also include a 12,500-seat arena, a large-screen cinema, an interactive game area and several high-tech rides. Once completed, it would employ 7,000 full-time workers, and Reichmann hopes to attract 9 million visitors in the first year. "Everyone will know," he says, "that this is a magnificent, multifaceted sports and entertainment venue."

Some analysts, however, are unconvinced. "I've seen projects a lot less costly and far less involved that haven't been able to get off the ground," says Tim O'Brien, an editor with Amusement Business, a Nashville, Tenn.-based newsletter. For starters, says O'Brien, only one amusement park—Eldorado, which opened near Paris in

Technodome is meant to appeal to all age groups. In the course of his research, he became a friend of the late cartoonist John Canby and the director Norman Jewison. Reichmann, says Fisher, "has got a pretty good idea of who's who in the entertainment business."

Now, Abraham hopes to take his place among them. "I'm drawn by a burning desire to create," he says. "I guess I'm my own thrasher." He struggles to his business skills in a small part to his religious training. He is an accomplished Talmudic scholar and boasts a personal library of more than 3,000 books on religion, business and history. "My training taught me to be very disciplined, very analytical, very structured," he says. "It also taught me to push the envelope. I don't mind taking risks as long as they're very calculated." And with \$750 million on the line, his current project is no laughing matter.

JOHN SCHIFFIELD

1993—has ever attracted 9 million visitors into first year. Still, if anyone can do it, O'Brien allows, the Reichmanns can. "To save their reputation in Canada is going to help them."

The dream has already slipped from Abraham's grasp once. In 1993, he shelved plans for a massive, \$2-billion theme park near Niagara Falls, N.Y. "It was very exciting project," he says. "But the real estate market had just had a significant downturn, and the family had no assets, so Everything's timing."

This time, he is playing for keeps. "I'm very determined—reluctant," says Abraham, who is president of Reichmann & Co. Corp., the company spearheading the project. His uncle Albert is chairman. The concept has been meticulously planned, offering at least nine major revenue generators. Technodome, he says, is negotiating partnerships with several major corporate sponsors. Diamond says financing is in place as long as Reichmann meets certain development deadlines. "There should be very healthy returns," Abraham says of the theme park's prospects. "You cut and slice and dice it, and at the end of the day, it still makes a whole lot of sense."

One of the first of the young Reichmanns to branch out on his own from O & Y—his left his job as a senior vice-president in 1989—Abraham launched the idea for the Technodome that same year after reading a newspaper article about the increasing importance of tourism to the economy. He immediately set about studying the international business, meeting with senior executives at such companies as Paramount and Universal Studios. As the father of six children with his wife, Bella, he also has a good grasp of what it takes to entertain kids—although



Everyone is making 4x4's, it seems. But not everyone is making a Mercedes.

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Deal (right) with co-anchor Maccioni, never has the Canadian television industry been so competitive

president of western operations. "With all the changes at Baton and WIC and properties changing hands, with specialty channels and direct-to-home satellite services—yep," he pauses. "It's become a wild world." A wild world worth \$1.5 billion in advertising revenue, \$800 million of that in Quebec, \$250 million in British Columbia. In fact, what's important in Vancouver, the second-largest English-language television market in Canada, is reflective of what's happening across the country. "As we move towards the year 2000," says Stanger, "we are going to see WIC, Baton and CanWest competing with each other for the title of number 1."

Baton is spending \$80 million to outfit its new headquarters in what was once Vancouver's main library, in the heart of the upscale shopping district, an area equivalent to Starbuck Street in downtown Montreal or York and Bloor streets in Toronto. That trend is pushing traffic to Robson Street to haul three great quiet dishes to the top of the building. It meant sorting through 2,000 job applications for 140 full-time positions. It meant finding capable managers, such as 38-year-old Jan Pennington, the former general manager and secretary at WIC and a specialist in media law since production from McGill Law School at the age of 18. It meant finding talent from the competition: Vicki Gaberova from CBC Radio, who will host a national morning show, Linda Collier and Bob Robertson, the comedy duo known as Double Exposure, also a former CBC talent, and news reporters and newsroom managers from BCTV, the CBC and Global.

Ten days before airtime and sets are still being arranged, wiring and equipment installed. Robertson's set was initially conceived of as an actual *Breaker Room*, with bright colors and funky furnishings. "We'll be working right up to airtime,"

said Stanger. Boyce, Baton's vice-president of original programming and production, who flew in last March to get things rolling. (She will head back to Toronto in October.) What viewers will see, says Baton president Don Pease, is a sort of City TV for grown-ups—how City TV might look if it was moved from Queen Street to Bloor and Yonge. Adds Pease: "We want a strong local identity. We want to reflect the new ethnic reality of Vancouver." And the achievement of winning a license here makes Baton even more competitive with

WIC and Global, since all three companies are now significant players in the major Canadian markets. For us, it was always not to have a station in Vancouver," says Pease. "This means things up."

Baton has taken back some of the shows it once loaned to BCTV, including *Melrose Place*, *Home Improvement* and *The Don Pelly Show*. Meanwhile, BCTV and Global have been able. (The CBC, crowded by cutbacks, is a relatively insignificant player in local daytime news; it does only 64,000 viewers.)

At last, an estimated loss of \$15 million in advertising revenue because of increased competition. BCTV and Global have reduced their staffs and begun aggressive advertising campaigns. WIC, which also owns CHEK TV in Victoria, craved off-the-wall television spots to promote the station with the theme "CHEK TV is here in Vancouver." One ad shows a scene at Wreck Beach, Vancouver's nudist playground. Four young women appear, naked and for strategically placed black bars. "At home, where we have nothing to hide," they announce. Another ad features two young men. The first is dressed in drag. "We here, where the men are men." The second is dressed in drag. "At the girls are men, too." Consultant Stanger says the CHEK ads "are a marketing stroke of genius."

BCTV president Art Reiterman cautions the ads—with a checkmark logo that looks very much like the letters VTY—were meant to confuse viewers about the new Baton station, and win a younger Vancouver audience for CHEK. "We did want to create confusion in the market," he says. "We wanted to be a little cheeky and have some fun."

At Global, the station is struggling for a U TV network, despite its popularity with younger viewers, and banking on its increasingly popular *SportsCenter* program at 11 p.m. and late television shows such as *The X-Files*, *Seinfeld* and *The Simpsons* to keep Vancouverites watching. Global has 14 of the top 30 shows and is the station most people in the Lower Mainland tune into between the hours of 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. Stanger notes: "We have strength in our programming, but we can't afford to become complacent." And not only because of WIC and Baton. Specialty channels are making up the revenue pie, too. *Access Canada* last year, they made \$660 million, up \$305 million from 1990.

Soon, television in Vancouver will look different again. By the end of this year, WIC is expected to sell its 25 percent stake in CTV to Baton. And in 1999, after a 10-year agreement with CTV run out, Kōbbé, for now, the 50 percent agreement keeps CTV's *Canada AM* and *Linda Robertson* on WIC for the next two years, more through the network than the contract. And the achievement of winning a license here makes Baton even more competitive with



BATON BROADCASTING INC.

OWNER: MONTGOMERIE
Lester's of Canada Ltd. (90.4 per cent),
Dischord Inc. (23 per cent)

STATION: VANCOUVER

26 television stations across the country,
57 per cent of CTV Western
Network Ltd., ownership stakes in
six specialty channels, including
soon-to-be-lanched Outdoor (L),
The Comedy Channel, CTV X1 and
The History Channel.

1995 REVENUE

\$2.3 million in revenues of \$225 million

WIC WESTERN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS LTD.

OWNER: MONTGOMERIE
Vancouver's Gelfinco family (52.5 per cent),
Edmonton's Allied family (29 per cent)

STATION: VANCOUVER

News, 14 and 12 radio stations, mainly in Western
Canada, Sparrowhawk, MoonMaid and Home
Theatre pay TV services, 50 per cent of The
Family Channel Inc., 27 per cent of CTV Television
Network Ltd.; six per cent of Expresso Inc., a
direct-to-home satellite service, WIC Communications,
a wireless communications division

1995 REVENUE

\$5.3 million in revenues of \$480 million

what to do about its own CBC of Baton. "It's very fascinating," Stanger says. "I've been going through all the different channels." But so is this fall, through look-out, says BCTV's Reiterman. "The ads have been strong for all the stations. Right now, there is a lot of anticipation about the specialty channels and what they'll do to the mix." WIC is counting its fingers that new shows like *Melrose Place* and *Home Improvement* and keep those specialty studios of late. Meanwhile, viewers in the basement of the WIC building, Tony Panosio is signing off his 6 p.m. hour-long newscast. In downtown Vancouver, Montreal Deal is pondering a reporter's questions about being a working mother, parent to a nine-month-old daughter. Deal hadn't expected to return to work full time. But the opportunity to co-anchor a newscast, to have a room mate, to have a person, prompted her to change her mind. "That's," she says, glancing at her VTR office, "was a bit too late." □

BUSINESS

Vancouver's air war

BY JENNIFER HUNTER

A photographer from *The Province* newspaper in Vancouver is standing on a dock, his lens aimed at a yellow Moskvik. Former disco diva of City TV and MuchMusic in Toronto. The string is the temporary digs of Vancouver's newest television station, Baton Broadcasting Inc.'s Vancouver Television—VTV, as it will be known. The offices this evening are thick with reporters and video crews, the best is informal. Deal, a graceful Parsipian-born woman in her early 30s, remains composed, ready to meet the press in her new incarnation as news anchor for VTV. The news goes on the air for the first time on Sept. 23. Deal, who was one of the faces of multiculturalism on local Toronto television, has become Baton's latest salvo in its effort to take on the \$200-million Vancouver television market.

Twenty kilometres away, in BCTV's studio in Burnaby, Gary Parsons, the ad-hoc, phlegmatic dozen of Vancouver newscasters, is preparing to deliver the 6 o'clock evening news. Top stories tonight: the trial of the alleged Ashbrook killer, the eternal Vancouver garbage strike, and how to get rid of the bee in your side's hair. Parsons, 35, and his news team at BCTV—owned by WIC Television Ltd.—have created the highest rated regional television

Baton gets set to invade a \$200-million TV market

newscast in Canada—603,000 viewers a night. "Over *News Hour* equals *Seinfeld* in numbers," says WIC president Jan Maccioni. "The only difference is we run it the fastest way." This is the newscast that VTV wants Deal and her co-anchor, Paul Newman, to take on. "It takes at least a generation to learn a loyalty to a newscast," says David Stanger, a consultant who monitors the Vancouver television market. So Deal and company will have to work hard.

Never has television in Vancouver, or in Canada for that matter, been so competitive. Baton, which launches its new station this week, has the first TV license awarded in 21 years in Vancouver and has taken over stations at Atlantic Canada from CHUM Ltd. In Ontario, WIC has increased its reach through last the province with the launch of Hamilton-based ONTV, and now owns CFCF12 in Montreal. In Quebec, CanWest Global has bought an inactive Quebec City station and is launching the Global identity on all its stations, giving them a network-like look. In Alberta, WIC and Global have joined up to fend off competition from Crap Broadcast Systems Inc.'s K-9 Channel, which will be seen province-wide. Meanwhile, more specialty stations such as The Comedy Channel and CTV's all-ages channel are coming on screen. And Baton has won the CRTC's blessing to take control of the personality-troubled CTV network.

"It's a fabulous time for television," says Jan Maccioni, Global's

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Ross Laver



Personal Business

Who's afraid of risk?

Sometimes, the hardest thing about investing in the stock market is the decision to get started. Many people already know that stocks outperform every other type of investment over the long term—GICs, bonds and real estate included. But how do you tell when it's time to take the plunge? If share prices are falling, it's tempting to wait to purchase any investment until the market bottoms out. Conversely, high stock valuations—on today's market—inevitably arouse fears of a possible correction. What time to invest is something today that may be worth less six months

henceforth. In one of their most famous experiments, they gave a group of subjects the following scenario: suppose you have been given \$1,000 and must choose between a sure gain of another \$500 or, alternatively, a 50-per-cent chance to gain \$1,000 and a 50-per-cent chance to gain nothing. Another group of subjects was presented with a different scenario: you are given \$2,000 and must choose between a sure loss of \$500 or, alternatively, a 50-per-cent chance to lose \$1,000 and a 50-per-cent chance to lose nothing.

Tversky and Kahneman found that most members of the first group chose the sure gain of \$500. A majority of the second group, however, opted for the gamble between a loss of \$1,000 and a loss of nothing. In fact, both situations are identical in terms of the net financial benefit to the subject. The phrasing of the question—the fact that one is presented in terms of gain and the other in terms of loss—was what causes them to be interpreted differently.

To the researchers, the lesson was that people are willing to run greater risks to avoid losses than they are to make gains. How does that influence the way people make investment decisions? Consider the person who professes the certainty of a three-per-cent return on a GIC rather than the possibility of a greater gain by buying stocks. In his determination to avoid risk, he chooses the option that will almost certainly yield a lower long-term return.

Another example of irrational behavior involves an investor who buys a stock at \$10. Assuming that a year later it is still at \$10 and appears unlikely to rise, most people would sell. But if the stock drops to \$8, most investors will stubbornly hang in, making further losses in the hope that the stock will return to its former level and they can get out whole.

As Tversky saw it, people will go to great lengths to avoid the sorrow and regret that comes with making a bad investment. The irony is that by doing so, they forgo opportunities for greater gains.

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decisions are
influenced by
emotion rather
than logic

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Business NOTES

AIRLINE SHUTS DOWN

Vielvet, a discount airline based in London, Ont., has shut down after eight months of service. No explanation was given for the sudden decision to close. The fledgling carrier had operated two Boeing 737s on routes between Toronto, Thunder Bay and Calgary, and two Dash 7s between Toronto, Ottawa and Windsor.

ALTIMIRA TRADING FLAP

The Ontario Securities Commission has accused mutual fund giant Altimira Management Ltd. of improper trading that may have distorted prices of shares in Orient Expressions Ltd. in 1993 and 1994. Altimira denied that its activities had a material impact on the share price, adding it has co-operated fully with an OSC investigation.

ON-LINE TAKEOVER

America Online Inc., the world's largest commercial on-line service, is swallowing up a rival. Under a three-way deal, H.R.R. Elick Inc. of Kansas City, Mo., plans to sell CompuServe Corp. to WorldCom Inc. WorldCom will then sell CompuServe's 2.8 million consumer accounts to AOL.

COREL LOSSES MOUNT

Shares in Corel Corp. plummeted after the Ottawa-based software firm said it lost \$44 million in the most recent quarter. The company is under pressure because of reduced demand for its WordPerfect word processing program and CorelDraw graphics program.

YOUTH JOB PLAN

The federal government plans to spend \$30 million to create jobs for 3,000 unemployed young people. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced the three-year internship program after a meeting with national business leaders and volunteer groups in Toronto. He said the program will go to people who have had trouble finding jobs because they did not finish school.

CREDIT CARD SHOWDOWN

A major U.S. credit card company is preparing to invade Canada. MIRA Corp. of Wilmington, Del., the second-biggest credit issuer in the United States, won a license from Ottawa last month to operate as MIRA Bank Canada. It was among the first U.S. banks set up specifically to issue credit cards such as Visa and MasterCard.

Magna comes under the microscope

Salesmen with Meritlim, an Ottawa-based Magna International Inc. subsidiary, are under the microscope of officials of the Big Three automakers at top-level meetings and strip clubs, according to court documents filed in connection with a sexual-harassment suit in Michigan. The claims, which have not been proven in court, also include assertions that Magna staff wooed clients with golf games, tickets to sporting events and jaunts to Las Vegas, Nev. Such practices contravene internal codes of conduct at General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. "To be sure," said Ford spokeswoman Pam Kuebel, "doing any kind of business involving a top-level bar is totally inappropriate for the world today."

Magna, which posted revenues of \$8 billion last year, said it strongly disapproves of such



Magna office in Detroit, golf, strip clubs, and Las Vegas trips

practices. "We understand what our customers' policies are and we abide by them," said Magna executive Graham Orr. "The complaint, filed by a former Magna employee in Detroit, says female staff were often paired and were called 'cupcake' or 'ice princesses.'"

Munk's 'painful' move

Facing weak gold prices, Toronto-based Rosedale Gold Corp. said it will close four higher-cost mines in the United States and Chile over the next three years while expanding production at its lower-cost facilities. "It's painful—it's an unpleasant decision," Barrick chairman Peter Munk said. He added that the company, based in America's second-largest gold province, has to face reality and reorganize for the future.

The price of gold, a traditional hedge against inflation, hit a 12-year low at \$254 (U.S.) an ounce in early July, after trading at an average of \$380 (U.S.) last year. With inflation expected to remain low, and the biggest stock market rally since to attract investment dollars, the immediate prospects for higher gold prices remain poor, analysts say. "I think Munk needed to bite the bullet," said John Ingo, president of Toronto-based Midland Placements Canada. "It underlines how difficult it is to be the gold business."

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Housing starts jumped 2.3 per cent in August, after an 8.1 per cent increase in July. While retail sales in August rose 0.4 per cent from the previous month, wholesale prices—excluding the volatile food and energy sectors—rose only 0.1 per cent.

"Stable Market Aides will present further shock."

market volatility. Investors are shifting their attention away from interest rates and domestic economic conditions, focusing instead on the impact of international developments."

—Canada Trust

AUTO SALES

Year-over-year change in July

CARS	11.4%
TRUCKS	28.6%

SOURCE: AUTOMOTIVE NEWS

There was little

"Employment growth accelerated to 15 of the 27 major urban centres in Canada during the first half of 1997, and is one of the factors behind increased housing activity."

—Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp.

Vision of the future

Digital video discs get off to a slow start

Encouraged by the pre-launch publicity, Calgary electronics retailer Tony Scifino couldn't wait to receive his first shipment of digital video disc players last March. Far from flying off the shelves, however, the long-awaited product—widely touted as the successor to the VCR—proved to be a slow seller at first. "The first wave of buyers were techies who are always interested in the latest thing," recalls Scifino, general manager of Soundboard Inc. The company now sells about 70 DVD players a month through its four Calgary stores, but Scifino says a shortage of DVD movie titles has undercut demand for the new product. "What I'm hearing is, I'd buy a DVD player if there was more software."

His is a common complaint. In technological terms, DVD represents a quantum leap beyond videotape—offering sharper images, brighter colors and richer, more lifelike

sound. Moreover, a single digital video disc can hold from seven to 30 times more data than a CD, enough to store an entire 120-minute film on each side of a double-sided, CD-sized disc. But those very qualities are the reason the new medium has been slow to take off: the Hollywood studios have been reluctant to embrace DVD for fear that video pirates will use them to produce high-quality digital versions of their movies that could be sold around the world in advance of a film's release in international markets.

That concern forced the manufacturers of DVD players—Toshiba, Pioneer, Philips and other giants of the consumer electronics business—to delay the introduction of their machines by more than six months. Finally, the industry devised a sophisticated scrambling system that makes unauthorized copying more difficult. They also agreed to divide the global DVD market by

territories, each with a unique set of product specifications for the hardware and software. The result is that a disc purchased in North America will not play on a machine sold in western Europe, and vice versa.

Although the anti-piracy system is not foolproof, it has stunted some major studios. Among the heavy hitters, Columbia/TriStar and Universal were the first to embrace the DVD format. Warner, a division of the U.S. media giant Time Warner Inc., has since joined the parade. In late August, Warner Home Video named 94 titles, including recent hits like *Spice World*, *Twister* and *Get Shorty*, in one fell swoop. The release followed a three-month test during which one million DVDs were sold in seven major U.S. cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago and New York City. "We want to be in a lively racing the DVD format in the minds of consumers," says Stuart Cawley, director of sales and marketing at Toronto-based Warner Home Video Canada. By year-end, his company plans to release 147 titles in Canada, plus another 41 in conjunction with MGM Home Entertainment and HBO Home Video.

Warner's decision left Disney, Paramount and Fox—which together account for about 40 per cent of new releases—in the lurch. DVD introductions. Earlier this month, however, Disney announced that it will have movies available in the new format as early as Christmas. "We're confident that our sup-



Scifino: a shortage of DVD titles has just slowed

port of this technology will help foster its growth and consumer acceptance," said Michael Johnson, president of Buena Vista Home Entertainment Worldwide, a subsidiary of Disney Enterprises, Inc.

All told, more than 200 DVD titles should be in Canadian stores by December, at prices ranging from \$45 to \$40. Meanwhile, the manufacturers of DVD players insist they are not worried by the pace of sales to

date. "DVD players are picking up more quickly than CD players did in the early 1990s," said Barry Morley, a marketing manager for Minniscopa, the based Pan-Atlantic Canada Inc.

In total, the industry expects to sell as many as 45,000 DVD players this year. But that is still a far cry from the 1.3 million VCRs purchased in 1995. One obvious hurdle is cost: the machines sell for \$300 to \$420, a

hefty outlay for a product that is capable of playback only (DVD) recorders are not expected to become widely available for several years. Morley, who also heads the video committee of the Consumer Electronics Manufacturers of Canada, says DVD players are unlikely to become a mass-market item before the end of the decade, by which time entry-level machines should fetch about \$400.

The home-electronics industry is clearly aware that DVD will take off. "There's not much energy left in a VCR," acknowledges Mark Redmond, president of Thomson Consumer Electronics Canada, the distributor of RCA and Proform DVD players. "We need something to stimulate revenue and margins."

Still, some retailers worry that the launch of a new format will confuse consumers and hurt sales of older products. DVD Canada, a national chain of music and video stores, is a strong promoter of DVD. But its main rival, Toronto-based Sam the Record Man, will not carry titles until the end of September, and then only in its flagship stores in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. "People are just getting comfortable collecting videotapes," says Jason Strickman, the chain's vice-president. "Introducing a new format now seems like bad timing." Perhaps, but his competitors can hardly wait for a share of the profits.

ESK KENNEDY



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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

Thrills and spills

For Canadian action **Debra Unger**, starring in a classic thriller *The Game* was sometimes a little more thrilling than she bargained for. The film, which opened last week, also features **Michael Douglas** as a billionaire whose brother **Sam Peckinpac** gives him a bizarre gift: entrance into a violent adventure game. As an employee of the game company, Unger's character spends a lot of time doing a bulls-eye with Douglas. "I knew a lot of actors bullseye about how they do their own stunts, but this time we really did about 90 per cent of them because director David Fischer wants such a high level of verisimilitude," says Unger. "I was looking forward to relaxing in my trailer while my stuntman did all the work. Instead, I fractured my foot."

The mishap occurred about halfway through filming, when she and Douglas were jumping repeatedly from a five-meter-high fence for a scene being shot from a variety of angles. Finally, she lost her footing. "It all happened so fast," recalls 35-year-old Unger. "I'm lying prone on the ground, and the whole crew is laughing at me. It was a real boys' club—not a lot of mollycoddling on that set."

But then again Unger, who grew up in Van-



Unger is 'mollycoddling' while filming *The Game*

couver, has never let a little adversity stand in her way. After the National Theatre School in Montreal turned her down, she moved to Australia. There, she studied acting at the National Institute of Dramatic Arts in Sydney. After graduating in 1980, Unger worked on several TV series, including *Bangkok Hilton* with **Nicole Kidman**. In 1990, the Canadian moved to Los Angeles, where she still lives. She got her big break when Canadian director David Cronenberg cast her in last year's controversial and sexually explicit *Crush*. "Shooting *The Game* was sometimes hard," says Unger. "But not nearly as difficult as shooting *Crush*. Naked in a car in Toronto in winter when it's 30° F!—now that was difficult."

How to cook up a dinosaur

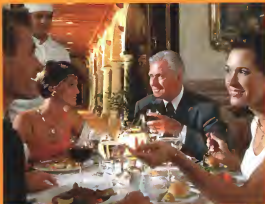
For most writers, the obvious place to promote their books is bookstores. Author **Chris McGowan** is getting help from another kind of venue: the 140 Swiss Chalet restaurants across Canada. While McGowan, a curator at the Royal Ontario Museum, was conducting research for his how-to book, *White Your Own Dinosaur Out of Chicken Bones*, he treated his prototype with leftovers from the restaurant chain. Now, in a novel best an oversold wedding, the month the Toronto-based company is sponsoring a children's dinosaur-coloring contest, with copies of the 144-page book in prize. According to the 55-year-old Toronto paleontologist, making an apatosaurus out of the remains of three chicken din-



McGowan and readers' bones

ners and some common household items is not only good fun, but also good science. Experts are now convinced that birds directly evolved from the likes of apatosaurus. "People are actually making a real dinosaur," says McGowan. "Because chickens are dinosaurs—they are not chickens." But their ancestors, of course, did not benefit from the barbecue sauce.

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Some Stones fans get lucky

I was a **Rolling Stones** fan's ultimate dream: to see the legendary band in an intimate club setting. That dream came true for about 200 people earlier this month when **Mick Jagger**, **Kent Richards**, **Ron Wood** and **Charlie Watts**, who are in Toronto rehearsing for their upcoming Reddes to Babylon tour, performed at the city's tiny Horseshoe Tavern. Among the lucky few in attendance were members of **Ruby Redden** and **Stones**, and actor **John Goodman** and **Dan Aykroyd**. But the incident may have been **Alison Phillips**, who caught Jagger's white Cuban Klein T-shirt when the singer peeled it off and threw it into the crowd. "It was soaked with sweat, really gross," recalls the 36-year-old graphics design manager. She decided to give the sweaty piece to her fiancé, **Kevin Campbell**, a record company product manager when she described it as "the best" Stones fan. Now, it is his problem. "He refuses to wash it," says Phillips, "and his latest plan is to try and get Mick to autograph it." The band refused.



Jagger (left), Richards at the Horseshoe: a 'sweaty gross' souvenir

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LINCOLN





Diane Francis

The battle to right history's wrong

Some 12,000 Canadians served during the Second World War on merchant navy ships that were a lifeline to Britain and other Allied nations fighting the Nazis. More than one out of eight died, and about 2,000 of these veterans are still alive. Some of them, like Phil Elter of Belleville, Ont., continue to wage war. But this time, Elter is battling against his own government, which has failed to do what most other Allied nations have done: to fully recognize and reward merchant navy sailors for their important contribution to the cause of freedom.

It is a disgrace that these heroes have been neglected by Ottawa. "We've been snubbed for the past 50 years," says Elter, now 73. "The issue is about equality. Our merchant navy men served on the

same ships with the navy gunners, and the gunners got all kinds of benefits. I don't begrudge them that. They deserved them. But the merchant navy got snubbed. And we were at the same battles, facing the same torpedoes. I made 52 trips across the North Atlantic. And I'm not considered a full-fledged veteran. I'm damn mad about all of this."

Thousands of merchant ships returned by civilians making their lives to take food, weapons and other materials to help Britain survive the Nazi threat. Between 1939 and 1945, some 5,000 Allied merchant navy ships were sunk by the Nazis. An estimated 60,000 merchant navy men and women died.

Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill, recognized their contribution. "The Battle of the Atlantic was not won by our navy or air force. It was won by the courage, fortitude and determination of Allied merchant seamen," Churchill said shortly after the war.

Forster Greene, a Canadian history professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, has taken up the seamen's cause and tirelessly writes the press and politicians in an effort to gain them equality and recognition. There has been some progress. In 1992, Queen Elizabeth II, C.M., which was highly praised as granting merchant seamen with the same status as other veterans. But critics maintain this is simply not true. They claim the law is based by restrictions and exemptions, and that many who apply for benefits receive little. In addition, they are still not recognized as full veterans and wait, among other things, a full veteran's pension. "Our government has delayed a colossal disregard for us," says Elter. "When he was Opposition leader, Jean Chretien promised that he would help us achieve this recognition. He's a bloody liar and you can put that in the record."

The Americans recognized the efforts of their merchant navy in 1988 following a class action lawsuit by a former merchant navy seaman. The result is that if a seaman proves that he or she served in a war zone, they can enjoy all the same privileges of military veter-

ans. This includes medical and dental care, housing grants and a minimum pension of \$6,300 per year. The British and Norwegians are equally generous, and the Australians, according to Elter, recently agreed to do the same.

Veterans Affairs and Royal Canadian Legion spokesmen have defended the legislation, arguing that the benefits for merchant seamen who served on the "high seas" are the same as those received by their uniformed counterparts. In addition to denying that, the merchant navy veterans are angry about the high-cost restriction. Elter and Greene both maintain veterans' benefits should be extended to those who served in Canadian waters as well as to those who made high-seas crossings in Europe. Anything else would be blatantly unfair. Military veterans who were uniformed don't have to pass eligibility tests. Unarmed deck jockeys who served in complete safety are entitled to the same benefits as those who were being shot at on the front lines. Why should the rules differ for the merchant navy with those in perilous and those not in danger-deadly benefits?

In fact, it is even arguable that the merchant navy as a whole deserves more compensation than regular naval personnel because they were generally in much greater danger, mostly because they were among deck targets and unarmed. These convoys transported weapons, bombs and all good war that would be attacked continuously during crossings.

The grim facts, according to professor Greene, are that about 1,600 war merchant ships and vessels in these convoys died, in comparison with that 18 ratio. Canadian naval records show one death out of every 47 sailors. During the entire Second World War, some 45,000 Canadian military personnel died out of a total armed force of one million.

According to Elter, 74 Canadian vessels were lost as a result of a major attack. One of the worst incidents involved the death of 1,300 sailors on board the merchant ship *Nova Scotia*, which was sunk by German in the Indian Ocean in November, 1942. In July 1943, another 665 merchant sailors lost their lives when the *Dancho* was torpedoed and sank while en route from St. John's, Nfld., to Greenland. Many of those sailors were in the merchant navy because they were too old or too young for the military. Some had medical problems that disqualified them for regular service. But they wanted to participate in the war effort.

Unlike other veterans who were given education or training help upon their return, these merchant seamen were had to make their own way without government assistance. Treasoner seeking the arrests of Halifax looking for a job for six months. But I was told that any jobs available are reserved for war veterans. I didn't qualify," recalled Elter. "And it makes me damn angry."

'I made 52 trips across the North Atlantic. And I'm not considered a full-fledged veteran. I'm damn mad about all of this.'

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Nuclear jitters

A controversial plutonium plan is under fire

Sometime in the next few months, a truck carrying 390 grams of toxic, weapons-grade plutonium will cross into Canada from the United States and head for the Chalk River, Ont., nuclear complex. At Chalk River, 150 km northwest of Ottawa, Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. technicians will feed rods containing a plutonium-uranium mixture into a nuclear reactor and burn it as fuel. The exercise, so make sure that Canadian reactors can safely run on the mixture, is part of a far-reaching and controversial proposal to use CANDU reactors in Ontario to burn about 160 tonnes of U.S. and Russian plutonium from dismantled nuclear warheads. Coming just months after Ontario Hydro's abrupt decision to close down seven CANDUs because they were no longer safe, news of the Chalk River test has stirred environmentalists. "It's outrageous," said Elizabeth May, executive director of the Ottawa-based Sierra Club of Canada. With domestic sales of CANDU reactors at a standstill and foreign deals slow to materialize, added May, the Canadian nuclear industry is "screaming desperately for some way of prolonging its life."

In fact, there is a good chance the long-range plan to process large amounts of Cold War-era plutonium in Canada may never get off the ground. "The project isn't dead," says

Ontario Hydro spokesman Terry Young, "but obviously our first priority right now is to improve the performance of our existing reactors." Despite that, AECL is going ahead with the first of a series of test "burns" that could eventually involve about 1,200 g of U.S. and Russian plutonium. In Washington, the federal department of energy is currently conducting an environmental review of plans to package and ship plutonium to Canada. There has been no such review in Canada. "Citizens of this country," says Gordon Edwards, president of the Montreal-based Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, "are in the bizarre position of having to contract the U.S. government if they want to have a say about this."

Canadian officials insist that the proposal to track plutonium to Canada over public highways would be relatively free of risk. The reason before being shipped across the border, a plutonium-uranium mixture known as MOX (the naked oxide) would be fabricated into ceramic pellets. "Even if the truck went over a cliff and the pellets spilled out," says Murray Stewart, president of the Toronto-based Canadian Nuclear Association, "people could only be harmed if they swallowed a pellet." According to a department of energy map posted on the Internet, the agency is considering three routes to

truck MOX from the U.S. National Laboratories at Los Alamos, N.M., to Chalk River—one entering Canada through Manitoba, and the other two through Ontario. "There's bound to be concern," says the head of the Canadian Citizens for Responsible County, a group critical of Chalk River's impact on the local environment. "What scares people is that some-how plutonium is going to get into the environment."

Transportation concerns aside, Canadian nuclear officials agree that the idea of burning weapons-grade plutonium in Canada makes sense because, unlike many U.S. and Russian reactors, CANDU reactors can run on a variety of fuels. More-

over, they say, the plan—which could start around the year 2004 and run for up to 15 years—would help free the world of a prime ingredient in nuclear weapons. Even though not all the plutonium would be destroyed in the CANDU, the residue would be captured in reactor waste—and, as such, difficult to extract. Who would pay for Canada's role in disposing of the plutonium? "This is a mission about global peace and disarmament," says Robert Gadsby, manager of the MOX project at AECL. "It's not about huge profits." But Ontario Hydro officials said they would expect to be paid for processing U.S. and Russian plutonium.

Critics say that fact isn't in the scale of reaction for Canada's nuclear industry. Despite slumping reactor sales in most developed countries, some nuclear planners are betting that during the next century growing energy needs will revive the industry. If that happens, plutonium could begin to be recycled as a nuclear fuel. Already, Japan and several European nations are processing spent reactor fuel to produce plutonium. "An important goal here," says Edwards, "is for the Canadian industry to get in on the ground floor of the plutonium business."

Plutonium is not highly radioactive. But it is extremely carcinogenic, and environmentalists say the amount that may be used just in the smelting of Chalk River is enough, theoretically, to fatally poison three-quarters of Canada's population. Before a long-range plutonium-processing program could be launched in Canada, full-scale regulatory and environmental assessment hearings would have to be held. And if that day ever comes, the economics, safety and wisdom of burning large amounts of a deadly substance into the country are certain to be hotly debated.

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3M Innovation

Hope, not miracles

In some cases, a promising AIDS drug is failing

In 1989, when Brent Doan was diagnosed as being infected with HIV—the virus that causes AIDS—his physicians guessed he might live for 18 months. Doan switched to a healthy diet, exercised regularly and, with the help of AZT, 3TC and other drugs, survived. Even so, by last September his CD4 cell count—a key measure of resistance to HIV—had fallen to an alarming 175 cells per cubic centimetre of blood (compared with the normal 1,000). He began taking a drug combination built around Sequanavir, the first of the new class of drugs called protease inhibitors to be approved in Canada. And by April, in his most recent measurement, his CD4 count was up to a healthier 350.

Doan's HIV infection dominates his life. He wakes up at 4 a.m. to take the first of his daily regimen of about 50 pills, including Sequanavir, 3TC, AZT vitamins and supplements. What difference has Sequanavir made? "It's like being given my life back again," says Doan, 36, who lives in Saskatoon and has not worked since 1990, when he quit his job as manager of a Winnipeg comedy club. "But I am aware that it could be taken away again. I know we don't have the full story yet on how long these drugs will go on working."

Hadn't as a major hope although when they first became available in Canada early last year, protease inhibitors have largely fulfilled their promise by contributing to a more than 20-per-cent decline in AIDS deaths over the past three years. But after more than a year of their use, it is now becoming clear that in a significant number of cases the drugs fail. No statistics are yet available, and most experts will not guess at the failure rate. But Rodney Fort, a national program consultant for the Ottawa-based Canadian AIDS Society, estimates that as many as 30 per cent of AIDS victims either do not respond positively to the new drugs, or experience only a short-lived improvement before worsening again.

Doctors say failure is most likely among AIDS patients who have been ill for a long time. "The drugs work best on newly infected people, but because the drugs have a short 'kick' record, it is not yet clear how long they will continue to help patients—be-

fore drug resistance sets in. "The mortality rate is going down," says Dr. Philip Berger, a Toronto physician with a large HIV/AIDS practice. "But is this going to continue, or will it just be a prolonged lull? I just don't know."

Apart from uncertainty, there are discouraging signs that the HIV infection rate in Canada is rising—particularly among injection drug users and young gay men. The epidemic ap-



Doan doing well on Sequanavir and other drugs, but knowing his HIV infection dominates his life

pears to be making new inroads into the heterosexual community as well—especially among women—and Canada's aboriginal population. Federal health officials estimate that last year as many as 3,000 Canadians were infected with HIV—well above the 2,500 to 3,000 new cases recorded annually between 1989 and 1995. The successful new drugs may be part of the problem. "Because we have more effective therapies now," says David Thompson, executive director of AIDS Community Care Montreal, "some people may be letting their guard down."

When they work, the new drugs have displayed remarkable ability to keep AIDS patients alive and slow the progression from HIV infection to full-blown AIDS. During the past three years, the numbers in both categories have plummeted—from more than

1,600 new AIDS cases and just over 1,000 deaths in 1994 to just under 800 new cases and only 273 deaths in 1996. "It's wonderful news," says Robert Hagg, who runs the drug treatment program at the British Columbia Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS in Vancouver. "It shows how effective the new drugs are."

The steep decline in deaths has been brought about not only by the protease inhibitors, but by a cluster of new drugs—including 3TC, the antiviral agent developed by Monrovia's Boehringer Pharma, that began reaching Canadian HIV and AIDS patients in 1986. Used in combination with other drugs, 3TC proved highly effective. And its impact was felt even earlier in 1989 when patients began receiving protease inhibitors on a compassionate basis before Health Canada formally approved the first of the new drugs in June of that year. The first drug designed to

combat AIDS, AZT became available during the late 1980s.

Taken in so-called cocktails with other drugs, protease inhibitors can help cripple the virus's ability to reproduce—decreasing the likelihood of drug-resistant mutations developing. That can stop HIV infections from turning into AIDS and can give many AIDS patients a new lease on life. "I've seen people I thought were going to die make a spectacular recovery," says Berger. "It's not uncommon now to see people with full-blown AIDS living for five years or more. You need used to see that." But there remains the nagging fear that the miracle may not last, clouding any sense of optimism about a disease that will not go away.

MARK NICHOLS

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Is it Lucien or Lucifer?

A biographer is fair and intimate at first, but slips away into caricature

THE ANTAGONIST: LUCIEN BOUCHARD AND THE POLITICS OF OBSESSION
By Lawrence Martin
(Viking, 356 pages, \$35)

One day in the mid-1960s, when Lucien Bouchard was just starting out as a lawyer, his paternal brother, Gerard, drove down Quebec City to visit him in Jonquière. As Lawrence Martin writes in his new biography, *The Antagonist*, young Lucien was surprised to learn that his brother didn't have good snow tires on his Volkswagen. So the next morning, Lucien took Gerard's car to a garage, had it fitted with the new tires, and paid for it. "He was very generous," Gerard told Martin.

It is the kind of small, telling anecdote that makes a biography come alive. It is exactly the sort of story English Canadian audiences are not used to reading about Bouchard, who is usually portrayed as some kind of Darth Vader, a twisted genius of the Quebec sovereignty movement. And it is the kind of detail that makes the first third of *The Antagonist* a pleasure to read.

Only later, that first third. After that, Martin's subject begins to elude his grasp, and his narrative of broadly sympathetic approach slips into caricature. Martin writes that there have been "two Lucien Bouchards." He contrasts "One was the rational, brilliant leader of Abénian ideals. The other was a threatened, demagogic traitor." Similarly, Martin has offered two Bouchard biographies: a fascinating inside look at the early years of a complex man, and a hodgepodge of press clippings and interviews with the nation's political enemies.

Martin's biography of the disquieting, megalomaniac Quebec premier became a source of controversy last month when some of its op-ed sections appeared in several publications. The excerpts dealt with examples about Bouchard written by Toronto psychiatrist Visvan Bakshi at the behest of Liberal MP John Godfrey. In an interview with Martin, Bakshi asserted that Bouchard, "who he had never met, shows signs of 'egoistic character disorders' (Bakshi's term for a



Bouchard indignantly now took pains at portraying him as the Darth Vader of the sovereignty movement

condition in which a person is feverishly committed to a project or cause to the detriment of everything else). But even as a clinical professor of law, Bakshi can offer only limited insight into a stranger. The psychiatrist serves up the sort of disordered clichés that are all too common from freshmen students of Quebec social formations, pompous bores about idealized yearnings for France, the mother country.

Martin gets far better mileage out of humble souls whose adoration over Bakshi is that they actually know Bouchard. The problem for Martin, a proud federalist, whose last book was a tough but fair biography of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, was that Bouchard's current friends were hardly likely to open up to a writer who was not on side politically. So the personal touch of Bouchard's inner circle is confined only to the book's opening chapters. This is not really Martin's fault, and he proves his good faith by writing sympathetically even about Bouchard's early flirtations with the sovereignty movement during his student days at the College de Jonquière and Loyola University.

The late-time premier of Quebec was no ordinary lad. The eldest of five children born, in 1938, to Philippe and Alice Bouchard of Jonquière, he drew from the personalities of both parents. Martin was able to interview two of Bouchard's brothers, René and Gérard. They describe their father as a simple but honest truck driver who instilled ambition in Lucien; and their quick-tempered mother as a "hard-boiled, God-fearing" woman whose rel-

igious will Lucien carried into his secular activities. It all made for a disciplined, brilliant young man with a short and explosive temper of his own. In the book's most satisfying passages, Martin follows Lucien through the early days to Laval, where he met the sovereignist he would join, and the glad-handing law-school classmate Brian Mulroney, the latter of whom he would one day crush decisively.

The growing friendship between Bouchard and Mulroney—"the thinker and the doer," as Martin calls them, whose roles in the Conservative party would resemble those of Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chrétien among the Liberals—is told from several angles by firsthand observers. So is the first of many surprising career moves by Bouchard—his stunning departure from a prestigious federal law firm in 1963 after Jacques Parizeau sold him a Parti Québécois membership card.

In later years, Bouchard became a virtuoso of contradiction, at one point managing to campaign almost simultaneously for Pierre Trudeau's Liberals and René Lévesque's PQ. Martin considers Bouchard's conversion to the PQ with a dispassionate tone that readers will soon miss, in recounting the rest of Bouchard's story—such as Mulroney's ambassador in Paris, his business losses as a federal cabinet minister, the birth and growth of Bouchard's Bloc Québécois—Martin is largely unaided by sympathetic sources, and the author's tone grows correspondingly baffled and hyperbolic.

He writes that Bouchard is capable "of lifting the cloak of grace from the fevered heights of Quebec tragedy." The case he uses to walk backwards "in sort of religious symbol." In speeches, he works himself into "a frenzied roller from which the wired [shouted] like spears." Martin recounts speakers' adulation as a traitor Bouchard three after being called a "frog" or compared to a Nazi propagandist—actually pretty good reasons for throwing a tantrum.

Soon, Martin's falling fudge other targets besides Bouchard. After Parizeau resigned as premier in 1995, "the people of the province were falling to their knees beseeching Lucien to become their pope." Through these foul pages, Martin makes the kind of jingoistic, factual errors that deflate his credibility. Liberal Cabinet Minister Marcel Massé's name is misspelled (as Massé). The 1998 federal election is held in 1997. Martin has the First Ministers discuss a report from economist Tim Carmichael in Ottawa in June, 1996, when it was actually in August two months later. But despite its flaws, *The Antagonist* is readable on several fronts. The very absence of sovereignist sources in the book's latter sections is telling: that is a movement that precludes its openness and willingness to engage with Canadians in a dialogue, but the seapointer absence narrows their post-1995 instability. This is a pity that has just gone over on a tangent to replace itself to the unimpaired.

And Martin offers one insight into Bouchard that is very nearly worth the price of admission: Bouchard's changes in allegiance, from Trudeau Liberal to Parizeau to Mulroney Tory to separatist leader, have all may be changed from a living cause to a winner. Martin notes: "He preferred to jump aboard trains that were already in a good speed as opposed to charting a new course." Now that Bouchard's own government, and the sovereignty train itself, appear to be losing speed, the question Martin's book leaves behind is when Bouchard will jump next.

PAUL WELLS

As much fun as Hansard

PARTY FAVOURS

By Don Cow
(HarperCollins, 226 pages, \$28)

One of the truths about political life in Canada is this: to divine what will be fashionable in Ottawa in a year, observe what is now happening in Washington. That is true on almost every front, whether the issue in question is the ethics of Inuit with Chris, how to appoint a Supreme Court justice, or why it is still considered chic to wear a yellow tie with a blue suit.

Perhaps that made it inevitable in the wake of the hugely successful *Primary Colours*, a fictionalized account by an entirely anonymous author of Bill Clinton's rise to power, that a Canadian would by some thing similar. The result is *Party Favourites*, a wannabe roman à clef that proves—at least in this case—that while imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, it can result in a remarkably silly book.

The author, labelling under the pen name of Jean Doe, is described in publicly blatant as "an Ottawa insider." That is a deeply worrisome for all Canadians, because *Party Favourites* says much more about the short comings of the author than those of his or her intended targets. Perhaps the only thing clear through an otherwise muddled plot is the effort to create parallels to real-life characters, including federal cabinet members, members of the press gallery (including the reviewer) and assorted hangers-on.

The multitude of literary asides, his own behind-the-scenes and a plodding tale has about as much credibility as Liberal promises to scrap the Goods and Services Tax. It revolves around the sinister efforts of finance minister Jean Rioux, a Montreal native and millionaire businessman, to steal power from the prime minister, the deceptively naïf and naive Isabelle Robert (Stéphane Lauger). The cast of one-dimensional characters is led by the narrator and action-man hero, idealistic young Canadian Press wire-service reporter Chris O'Reilly. Before the book's done, O'Reilly has cultivated his own Deep Throat network, dragged off all manner of secrets and information, uncovered a casually plot involving a murdered lawyer, kick-

backs and a plan to overthrow the prime minister, saved the day for democracy—and bedded the most beautiful woman in Ottawa (who just happens to work for the prime minister) and becomes a cabinet member (several). James Bond aside, there's better days, and O'Reilly usually works more subtle tactics.

Even more remarkable for real-life Ottawa, O'Reilly is awkwardly courted by every political boss, has his telephone calls answered by a concubine, invited to off-record clubs with the prime minister, and receives spontaneous visits at home from cabinet ministers eager to share secrets. His highly professional boss always underestimates colleagues at the real-life CP will be invited to discover their risk. It is so large.

In addition to that, everyone in the book speaks in laden dialogue that by comparison makes Ottawa's most self-important bureaucrats sound eloquent. The Deep Throat character, "Max," who he turned off-reformer because "fundamentally, I am a Democrat [and] I am a political realist when I use the opposite of work." He chooses O'Reilly because "I was told you could be trusted." O'Reilly's best friend, veteran Southern News hack Jay Myers, who is intended to be invisible, spends the book trailing after the hero, calling him "my boy" and "my man" and "my friend" and "my dear" at his achievement. A literary version of the comic character Dame Edna as a stereotype. By the time Myers is fired by his new boss, lighting Southern press, and Carwell Spence, the reader is less desirous to read the book.

And on goes, devoid of humor or redeeming insight, through 226 pages that carry all the sparkle and flare of a head report of a royal commission. *Primary Colours* succeeded because its author, later nicknamed as journalist Joe Klein, wrote a major book about the decline of the left as Washington disintegrated to what he had pioneered them. The book brought Klein critical acclaim, millions of dollars in royalties, and, after he was "too dead," unwanted notoriety for Jean Doe, integrity offers a different reward—indecent refuge from the intrigue plot that ends if ever he or she is found out.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



Crowe, Kanger as L.A. Confidential: police corruption, Hollywood shine

machismo, Hanson ensures that no star outshines the film's daily style.

L.A. Confidential is, above all, an exercise in style, a designer version of the pulp fiction prototype. Its customized mix of violent crime and celebrity voyeurism in the Fifties has a decidedly contemporary slant. And, like the work of Quentin Tarantino, it is a movie about other movies, with Hollywood serving as the story's self-referential backdrop. Superficially, at least, *L.A. Confidential* is reminiscent of *Chinatown*. It offers the same sort of anthropologist's view of Los Angeles as a city in the throes of physical expansion and moral confusion.

Unlike *Chinatown*, however, this is a drama in which nothing serious is ever really at stake. It is just a ball of a good ride—an enjoyable as it is forgettable.

In & Out, on the other hand, is a movie with a message, even if it comes in the form of a featherweight comedy. Of all Hollywood's recent attempts to dramatize the issue of gay rights, most of which suffer from undue delicacy, *In & Out* is the least strained. Kevin Kline stars as Howard, a small-town teacher who, on the eve of his wedding, is outed on TV by a former student, a movie star scepting as Oscar. The story idea was suggested by Tim Hetherington's Oscar acceptance speech for *Philadelphia*, which included a heartfelt tribute to his gay high-school drama teacher.

Screenwriter Paul Rudnick—who writes "a drag" for *Premiere* magazine as columnist Lobby Ladies—seems to have written the movie entirely as Kline's sunny call voice. There are some hilarious bit parts, as the expense of Barbara Streisand. And the mock Oscar presentation is priceless—with Glenn Close introducing a movie clip of a ground-breaking ordinary romance in which the star, played by a bleached Matt Dillon, declares his undying love to a wounded comrade on the battlefield. Kline, meanwhile, performs with his usual earnest passion. Jean Casale's cinema as his disingenuous fanfare. Most surprising: Tom Selleck, playing against type as a gay TV journalist but for Howard's story—and his body freely directed by Frank Oz. *In & Out* is no more than the sum of its parts—and the story goes out on a flat note of inspirational sentiment. But as gusto as admirable. After *Philadelphia*, in which Hanson offered not a single scene from Selleck, plants a big hit out in Kline: Hollywood, you've come a long way, baby. □

Films

New spins, old styles

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Film festivals champion alternatives to Hollywood formula—the independent, the international and the unconventional. But, to attract stars, they also like to stage splashy premieres of studio movies. And as the Toronto International Film Festival drew to a close last week, two Hollywood pictures—which are opening in theatres this week—emerged as irresistible crowd-pleasers. Both, oddly enough, are stories about the influence of Hollywood glamour. And both are formula films that put a contemporary spin on a vintage style: *L.A. Confidential* is a hard-boiled detective drama, set in the 1950s, that paints the noir with a high-class flourish. *In & Out* is an old-fashioned screwball comedy in every sense but one—it makes gay power safe for the whole family.

Based on the sprawling 1980 novel by Los Angeles chronicler James Ellroy, *L.A. Confidential* portrays a city in the throes of police corruption, tabloid scandal and Hollywood shine. The story revolves around a trio of antiheroic cops. The ever-sexy Kevin Spacey plays Jack, a star detective who trades crime as show business; he serves as

technical advisor for a *Daguer*-like TV series, and takes payoffs to stage celebrity busts for *Mash-Mash*, a gossip rag run by a sleazy merchant named Sid (Russell Crowe). Australian actor Russell Crowe portrays the unswervingly honest but a Dirty Harry type who follows his own ruthless code of justice. And fellow Australian Guy Pearce completes the trio in the role of Exley, a glibby boy anxious to clean up corruption on the force. As Bud and Exley turn into better men, the mysterious Lynx (Glenn Close)—a luxury call girl who is sold as a Venus on Lake Tahoe—comes between them.

While the characters swoosh through a maze of intrigue, a whip-smart script keeps the plot clear, the action sexy and the humor sly. American director Curtis Hanson, known for such efficient but cheesy thrillers as *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* and *The River Wild*, steps into a new league with *L.A. Confidential*. He draws razzle-dazzle performances from his actors. Baugher is more perfect as a sidekick star who lives by her beauty. Deftly as appreciatively as two is the role of the scandal-ravaging Sid. And by letting two relatively unknown Australians play the film's darling scenes of Americans

Two Hollywood movies win with classic formulas



SPAIN BREAK by

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The capital of Andalusia is arguably the most beautiful city in Spain. Its hidden delights and unique character are joys shared by its people and its visitors.



British music's déjà vu

Our dismissed as hopelessly passé by anyone under 30. The Beatles are suddenly hip again. The release during the past two years of *Anthology* is partly responsible for the new vogue, with many clapping of baby boomers among the millions shopping up the three double-CD sets and eight video sets.

But more significant are the echoes of The Beatles—and, in fact, of the whole British invasion of the 1960s, a movement that included The Rolling Stones, The Kinks and The Who—is the music of a new generation of English bands. The current invasion is led by such groups as Oasis, Blur, Radio Shakes and The Spice Girls, all of whom have helped to put British pop back on top with their respective nods to the past. Blur has made a name for itself with the sort of wry, satirical songs The Notorious B.I.G. once wrote about middle class Britain, while Radio Shakes evokes the East Indian musical experiments of both The Beatles and The Stones. Even The Spice Girls, in their own career, cartoonish way, can be seen as a female version of, say, novelty popsters Freddie & the Dreamers or style and to substance.

But none of the newer English bands is more cleverly dedicated to Beatles-era pop-star more commercially successful at 4—than Manchester's Oasis. The five-piece group, led by the relentlessly scrapping, mane-browed Gallagher brothers, songwriter Noel, 33, and singer Liam, 35, has traditionally ended its concerts with a frenzied rendition of *I Am the Walrus*. On *What's the Story? Morning Glory?*, the second, 1995-Oasis album—now appearing in sets of nine reissues in Canada and 13 reissues worldwide—the band frequently echoed its Liverpoolian heroes. Woodward takes its title from a George Harrison album of the same name, and *Champagne Supernova* contains a Beatles-style string arrangement and choral "Yeah, yeah, yeah." Meanwhile, Don't Look Back is a deeper nod to a 1964 Beatles opening performance at John Lennon's manager, and alludes to the Lennon-Yoko Ono peace campaign in the last "no future revolution from my bed."

The latest Oasis album, *Be Here Now* (Epic/Sony), is another compendium of Beatles references. The opening of *Don't Know What I Mean* has the lyrics "The fool on the hill and I feel fine." *My Big Me* alludes to "the long and winding road," while *Fade In/Out* includes the words "let it be." And on the title track, there is the explicit "sing a song for me, one from the top." But the album is much more than an

already sing along favorites. But the new album's real gem is the dreamy, dragging *Go to Sleep*, a vulnerable love song sung by Liam in an affectingly plaintive manner—and featuring lush string accompaniment.

In these any truth, then, to the hype that Oasis is the modern-day equivalent of The Beatles? Certainly the Gallagher brothers, bristling with bravado, seem to believe it. Noel Gallagher has already boasted that his band's first two albums surpass those of any act in the world, including The Beatles. And Liam Gallagher continues to claim—apparently in earnest—that Lennon's spirit lives inside him, having entered during an out-of-body experience he had as a teenager. Or Oasis is already well on the way to rivaling its mentors in sales: the band is the first pop act in the world to debut at number 1 in England with its first three albums. But neither Noel nor Liam has the wit or the intellect of Lennon, and the group has yet to produce a truly revolutionary album on the scale of Sgt. Pepper or a classic concept recording like *Abbey Road*.

Some might expect the surviving Beatles to be less than enamored of these Irish young upstarts who have plundered the Fab Four's material as doggerel and parody. But when asked earlier this

year by Britain's *Q* magazine if he resented the Gallagher brothers, McCartney replied: "No, they could admire anyone in the world, they could be copying anyone, they could be derivative of any artist who's ever been, [but] they admire us." Sir Paul has good reason to feel charitable: the former Beatle has a new, younger fan base himself and, with *Flowers in the Window* (Capitol) out in May—is currently enjoying his most critically acclaimed post-Beatles album to date.

For McCartney, the long and winding road of his solo career in heading into newly hospitable terrain thanks to the attention brought by Oasis and others. In the swing set England of the '90s, there is room not only for artists that look back to the heyday of 30 years ago, but also for those who first put English pop on the map.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

Oasis is no threat to the pop sainthood of The Beatles



Noel and Liam Gallagher, mega-stars, but not truly revolutionary artists

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Television

Halfway from hell

A film-maker continues his inquiry into parole

BY D'ARCY JENISSE

In the opening frames of *Resonance* with a *Replay*, a documentary the CBC will broadcast on Sept. 25, Ken Jeffrey and Brenda Fitzpatrick appear as a loving but unconventional couple. He is a 45-year-old former (now south-western Ontario)—and a convicted rapist who is serving the last 18 months of a six-year sentence at the Kettle Community Correctional Centre, a Toronto halfway house for paroled men. She is trying to raise their two-year-old son and her teenage daughter on a modest salary while commuting from her Woodstock, Ont., home to Toronto several times a week to see Jeffrey. In the documentary, they share a love that sometimes strains their relationship. She describes him as a romantic who showers her with "flowers and all the nice stuff that too many men forget these days." And he calls her "my soul mate, my partner, my best friend, my love."

Their love has blossomed in a North American media landscape that rarely celebrates redemption. *Resonance* with a *Replay*, produced by Emmy Award-winning film maker John Kestner, depicts Jeffrey's unsuccessful fight for overnight passes from the Kettle centre so that he could spend week-ends with Fitzpatrick and his son, and leads to a breakdown of himself in the community. One of the parole parole officers supervising him opposes the passes for fear that Jeffrey might be off-limits—and cause a public uproar that could jeopardize his job. The dispute leaves Jeffrey and Fitzpatrick embittered and exhausted, and, in the film ends, their relationship is fragile.

Resonance with a *Replay* is a sobering piece of work. It is a realistic drama about two people—one considered a threat to society and the other an average citizen—and how their relationship comes unglued under stress. But 47-year-



Jeffrey, Fitzpatrick and their son: law despite Corrections officials



Kestner outlines 'truth'

old Kestner is no idealistic risk-taking producer out to exploit and sensationalize the couple's ordeal. Instead, he has used Jeffrey's story to explore a broader issue—the public backlash in Canada against criminals and parolees, and the impact that this mood has had on the bureaucrats who administer the correctional system. "Parole officers are playing it incredibly safe," says Kestner, "because the public has sent a message for any mistakes they make. I think they're being unduly rigid and harsh, but I don't blame them."

Kestner, in fact, experienced the fury of the public in the spring of 1996 just as he and his two co-makers' camera crew began shooting inside the Kettle centre. A notorious B.C. pedophile named Bobby Gurney was granted a restricted form of parole and sent to the cen-

tre by Correctional Service Canada. Some of his victims, by then adults, notified the Toronto media, who publicized Gurney's presence in the community. Those news stories led to storms, public meetings, protests and demands that Gurney be sent back to prison. That eventually happened—but not before the stormtroopers inside the facility itself had become explosive. "The hostility towards him rubbed off on me because I was talking to him," recalls Kestner.

"I attended one meeting for inmates, and the staff wanted me to announce that I might have to leave if things got too hot."

Kestner captured the emotionally volatile affair on film, and turned it into a haunting documentary story, *Resonance*. Bobby Gurney, which first appeared on CBC last January. He also shot enough footage for a second documentary, called *House of Secrets*, which aired in March. A series of interviews with Kettle centre inmates and staff, *House of Secrets* tells the dramatic punch of the film about Gurney and Jeffrey. It does, however, reveal the subtle, insidious repercussions of hardening attitudes towards criminals and parolees.

According to the filmmakers, Gurney was given a parole officer's last look to prison to complete their sentences even though they have not committed new crimes or broken such conditions of parole as abstaining from drugs and alcohol, having no more, Kestner says, they merely by flagging what parole officers call a "deterioration of behavior."

A release that allows that lackadaisical attitude, and other things, good or bad, appearing angry, or becoming angry and violent. "Parole officers have tremendous discretionary power, and they're using it to send guys back to the drop of a hat," he argues. "They monitor every mood of the offender, and it's all written down. The theory is that a stressed-out offender is a dangerous offender. So, if you lose your temper and yell at somebody at the Kettle centre, you could be going back to jail."

Before he settled on the Gurney and Jeffrey stories, Kestner spent months at the Kettle centre getting to know staff and inmates, and attending meetings before calling in a camera crew. That is typical of his approach to documentaries. "I never walk in knowing what it is I'm going to shoot," he says. "I've got to be there and see it with my own eyes. Finally, there comes a point where it goes click, and I know what it is I want to capture."

Kestner has been making documentaries, mostly for the CBC, since the early 1970s. Be-

TELEVISION

sides films about prison life, he has produced controversial and sometimes pioneering works about homosexuality and various kinds of disease. He pretends to tell a story through the experiences of one or more individuals who are attempting to deal with a crisis in their lives. That narrow focus gives his films unusual intimacy. "They're docu-stories that look like movies," he explains. "I like to take our protagonist and follow him through the arc of a crisis. There's a beginning, a middle and

an end. There's suspense. There's drama. By the end, the character has gone through a change."

Kasner's patient approach and powerful work have earned him international recognition. He won his first Emmy for the 1978 film *Four Women*, a 30th-anniversary film about breast cancer, and, two years later, captured another for *Fighting Back*, a documentary about children with leukemia also produced for the ABC estate. In the mid-1980s, Kasner turned his attention to the federal prison

system and produced four films: a drama about life inside Kingston's Prison for Women, a documentary about parole, another about a young, middle-class woman who was incarcerated for drug smuggling, and then his most celebrated work to date, *The Loner and the Lady*, which earned him a third Emmy. It was a raw and searing film that depicted a prison encounter between a career criminal serving a life sentence for manslaughter, and a Kingston woman whose marriage to a military officer had come unraveled.

Prisons, and the people who live behind bars, first captured his attention when he was a teenager in the mid-1950s playing the part of an adolescent offender in a National Film Board training film for guards. Several scenes were shot at Kingston Penitentiary, and in those days, he recalls, each prisoner's surname, along with the number of inches he had received, if any, were posted above the door to his cell. For a youth, it was a harsh but fascinating experience. "Twenty-second guy in the place was a movie," Kasner says. "If you wind up in a federal penitentiary you've done something major. You're an outlaw."

As a producer of prison films, Kasner has witnessed profound changes within Canada's penitentiaries. The 1980s documentaries captured a more humane approach to managing inmates, in which prison authorities granted privileges like daily, as opposed to monthly, visits from family or friends, and temporary absences from the institution. Kasner's most recent prison documentaries, including *Flowtime* with a *Ripstix* debut, the new chief among prison and parole officials that has made it much more difficult for inmates to get out and stay out. And public demands for harsher sentences have coincided with a deteriorating atmosphere within Canada's prisons, due largely to drug use. "Our prisons are brutal, vicious and to ridling places," Kasner says. "So what if you've got color TV in your cell? It's like having color TV in hell."

For all the time he has spent inside the prison system, Kasner seems to epitomize middle-class virtue. A father of three teenagers, he is married to a pharmacist, and he has the soft, slightly pudgy look of a man who studiously avoids fitness clubs and power workouts. He and his family live in a large, two-story brick dwelling erected amid smaller postwar houses in an orthodox Toronto neighborhood. From a modest home in the "big house" might seem an impossible distance, but Kasner has a trustworthy reputation behind bars. Yet he considers himself more a pragmatist than a blunderer heart in prison issues. "It's not a question of feeling miserably about criminals," he says, "it's a question of what works. Is this new hardware making inmates more dangerous or less dangerous? If think there's a great risk we're making them more dangerous."



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Not enough lather

Whether in *Rivendale*—not the real, east-end Toronto community, but the CBC prime-time soap version debuting on Sept. 22. The action starts when a teenage boy is shot by a nervous cop. And the local people connected to the event in-

clude a sexy housepainter who beds his clients, a matronly who thinks her racist neighbour's dog is going to the dogs, a black lawyer worried about his son's report card and a Greek businessman having a bit fling with the hockey coach down the street.

In total, there are 27 regular characters, distinctly Canadian in their diversity, and all in permanent crisis—which is exactly what you want from a soap. So far, so good.

Then is the brainy corner of the CBC's first English-speaking prime-time serial drama created by executive producer Linda Schuyler and head writer Van Moore. The team first gave the CBC the three successful *Degrassi* series. With *Rivendale* (tuesdays 7 p.m. and Thursdays at 11 a.m.), Schuyler promised to deliver a "tasteful" soap—which is setting the bar rather high—anchored in the sort of neighbourhood lives and beliefs that Canadians can recognize. (NBC's *ER* crew lives using a trip to the curb with the blue book as an excuse for a tryout.)

The result is a hybrid series that leans away from the multiple-plotlines, plotless, paste style of American soaps towards the more community-based social realism of popular British shows like *Coronation Street* and the *EastEnders*. (A regular *Coronation Street* director, Eugene Ferguson, was even imported to help get the nose right on the first few episodes.)

It's a great premise, and truckloads of talent and creativity went into the development of *Rivendale*. An entire neighbourhood was constructed on a two-hectare lot in northern Toronto, purchased for about \$200,000, and it is accurate down to the fire hydrants and local shop signs. But to judge by the first few of the 22 half-hour episodes, the development of the story and characters has been overshadowed by the machinery of the series. The early installments look as if they were shot by a low-rent cable crew purchased into Santa's Village. And the tone is terribly shaky. Is this fun artifice, or just wooden acting? What's the style here?

The problem is not that this fictional *Rivendale* bears no resemblance to the polyglot, strutter-clogged community that inspired it, or the contrary, it's not bold enough in its breed of artifice. So far, the series pulls back from the sort of heightened stereotypes and typed-outspatience that viewers look for in the never-ending land of a TV soap. The new series won't follow *Coronation Street* girl, but doesn't yet know how to amplify the nuances of the Canadian middle class into TV-sized characters. But perhaps it will find its way. Already, writers actors Jaye Richardson and Ken James are having fun with their roles as the working-class couple who haul the TV out onto the front porch. And young talent Jessica Greco shows fire and grace in the key role of teenager Kate Mackenzie.

In the first shows, however, the set-up stages the story. There is more signage than psychology on display, and the fake my grown-in-districts-unfriendly ways across the facade of the Mackenzie house. Let's hope the characters grow, too.

MARK JACKSON

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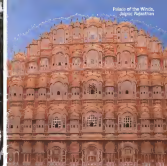
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PROVINCE

POSTAL CODE



Allan Fotheringham

Bouchard is vain and thin-skinned—not nuts

Lawrence Martin, a Hamilton age writer who became a first foreign correspondent in Moscow and Washington and an even better author through seven books, must be somewhat regretful about his eighth. One suspects that he wishes some anonymous snail had not invaded the foreigner's mansion about Lucien and The Skunk.

Here he is, having written a very narrow book about the man who would destroy Canada and is reduced to pop psycho-babble over whether the premier of Quebec is nut or not. Of course he's not. Neither is Martin. All he does is to write a fine book, meticulously documented, about a fascinating character who is not fit for a strait jacket and the betterly nuts, but is so vain, mercurial, self-absorbed and this-knewed that we are all the better for knowing him.

Martin's tome—*The Ambiguous: Lucien Bouchard and the Politics of Delusion*—is a brilliant primer for anyone seriously interested in the mind of the man who would ruin us. All that overheard front-page gush—psychiatrists' all-the-well assessment of a man he has never met—is nothing compared with the calmly assembled dissection of the man by a good reporter who spent two years interviewing some 300 friends and family of this brilliant and dangerous man. Martin's best witnesses are Bouchard's own incalculable—few of whom have been to university notice in their scientific and medical fields. They note his traits early in life (now also apparent in his present illness): a reasonable, maneuvered personality 90 per cent of the time who can suddenly burst in the remaining five per cent into an outrageous-prime figure who goes bananas. That's not nuts. That's just Lucien.

Martin is very good in painting the picture that turns us all—our childhood, including the "Bouquard of the Stomach" in backwoods Quebec, and off from the world by the Laurentians, a rural retreat that sounds something like the Quebec Bouchard's father in 70 years stepped out of the province of Quebec only twice—once to a hockey game in Boston Garden, another time to the racetrack at Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

His mother, nearly 90, was asked once for her impressions of



English-Canadian. She said she couldn't say because she didn't know any Lucien, when he went away to university, had never had a smoke or a drink or really dated a girl. At the age of 40, he still couldn't speak English.

It's a wonderful tale of a brilliant young mind, in a remote long four-beds behind mountains who revivified in histories of Alexander Hamilton, Napoleon and Julius Caesar. Father was an unlettered truck driver who drank a little too much. Mother was humorless, intensely religious, devoid of joy. "We felt guilt in the simple fact of trying to enjoy life," said one of the five brothers. "We couldn't laugh much."

What impressed schoolmates of Bouchard was his obvious intelligence and his aloof bearing—reminiscent of one of them "more of a Latin cardinal or a Renaissance philosopher." He danced from Trudeau-admirer and party worker to Parti Quebec card holder into the arms of Brian Mulroney.

At law school at Laval University in Quebec City, they were down together—two small-town boys from work-up-class backgrounds. Mulroney wanted the aura of Bouchard's intellectual gifts. Bouchard wanted the amiable Mulroney charm that led to so many political contacts.

Like two scorpions, destined to poison one another, they used each other for their own aims. Mulroney went the declared separatist to Paris as Canada's ambassador where he confided to an aide that he never really discovered the joys of women until age 40 and, while Martin, "truly began to make up for lost time."

In his own book, Bouchard did not mention his first wife, Jocelyne Côté, his wife of 20 years, by name. Bouchard's mother got the same treatment. "The book," writes Martin, "was perhaps a first of sorts—an autobiography that left out the two principal female in the subject's life."

In Paris—ending up for all this last time—there was the unexpected affair with Radio-Canada hostess Dorene Hamelin. Bouchard abandoned her fairly for him, and five—many unnamed flukes later—she—picked up as a Paris-London flight (the California club, Audrey Best, more than two decades his junior, who is now his wife and lives in a different city and house politics, as do their two young sons).

Throughout this very good book about the man who would destroy the best country in the world is the dichotomy of a man who reads Cicero and Plato and Proust, and has collected the other writers "sacred" (perhaps with reason), and the leader and who was once accused of using public funds to rent a formal pair of trousers to make a plea on behalf of Quebec before Newfoundland's Court of Appeal—such attire being required in those chambers. A colleague who had known him for 20 years then raised his office and found him with tears streaming down his face.

The real story is not in the shrink's dreary analysis. It's in Martin's meticulous journalism.

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